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GREVILLE MEMOIRS  
VOL. VIII.



*THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS*

A JOURNAL OF THE REIGNS  
OF  
KING GEORGE IV.  
KING WILLIAM IV.  
AND  
QUEEN VICTORIA

BY THE LATE CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq.

CLERK OF THE COUNCIL TO THOSE SOVEREIGNS

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OF

## THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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CHAPTER XI.

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*January 1st, 1856.*—Intelligence arrived yesterday that Esterhazy had presented the Austrian proposal to Nesselrode on the 28th, who had received it *in profound silence*. Yesterday morning the 'Morning Post,' in communicating this fact, put forth an article indecently violent and menacing against

Prussia; and as it contained a statement of what the Emperor Napoleon had said to Baron Seebach, which was exactly what Persigny had told Clarendon, this alone would prove, if any proof were required, that the article was inserted either by Palmerston or by Persigny. The 'Morning Post' derives its only importance from being the Gazette of Palmerston and of the French Government, and it is not very easy to determine which of the two is guilty of this article. These are the sort of manifestos which make us so odious all over the world.

*Haldimand, January 2nd.*—The speech which Louis Napoleon addressed to the Imperial Guard the day before yesterday when they marched into Paris in triumph, gives reason for suspecting that the manifesto against Prussia in the 'Morning Post' was French, for there is no small correspondence between the speech and the article. In the article Prussia is openly threatened and told, if she will not join the Allies in making war on Russia, the Allies will make war upon her; in the speech the Guards are told to hold themselves in readiness and that a great French army will be wanted. Nothing is more within the bounds of probability than that the Emperor may determine, if he is obliged to make war, to make it for a French object, and on some enemy from whom a good spoil may be taken, a war which will gratify French vanity and cupidity, and which will therefore not be unpopular. He may think, and most probably not erroneously, that in the present temper of this country the people would be quite willing to let him do what he pleases with Prussia, Belgium, or any other part of the continent, if he will only concur with us in making fierce war against Russia. But though this I believe to be the feeling of the masses, and that their resentment against Prussia is so strong that they would rejoice at seeing another Jena followed by similar results, the minority who are elevated enough in life to reason and reflect will by no means like to see France beginning to run riot again, and while we have been making such an uproar about the temporary occupation of the Principalities and the crossing of the Pruth by Russia, that we should quietly

consent to have become accomplices in, the passage of the Rhine, and an aggression on Germany by France. The very possibility of this shows the necessity of putting an end to a war which cannot continue without so many and such perilous contingencies. Nothing in fact can exceed the complications in which we can hardly help being plunged; and the various antagonistic interests which will be brought into collision, creating perplexities and difficulties which it would require the genius of a Richelieu to unravel and compose. The earth under our feet may be mingled with plots; we know not what any of the Great Powers are really designing; the only certainty for us is that we are going on blindly and obstinately spending our wealth and our blood in a war in which we have no interest, and in keeping Europe in a state of ferment and uncertainty, the ultimate consequences of which it is appalling to contemplate. Clarendon showed me a letter from Francis Baring from Paris the other day, which told him that the Emperor wished to make peace, because he knew that France, with all her outward signs of prosperity, was unable to go on with the war without extreme danger, that she is in fact 'using herself up,' has been going on at a rate she cannot afford.

*Hatchford, January 4th.*—I was in London yesterday, where I saw George Lewis, who was very low, sees no chance of peace, and everybody thinks it hopeless since the Russian Circular has appeared. It is difficult to understand the motive of the Russians in publishing such a proposal, when they must know it would not and could not be accepted, and were also aware of the terms the Western Powers were going to offer to her. Lewis says our financial prospect is very bad, a declining revenue, rising prices, a large loan wanted which will be got on bad terms, and more money to be lent to Sardinia and Turkey. He thinks, if the Russians propose to negotiate, that Palmerston will never consent; but though he will no doubt resist, if France presses it I have no doubt he will give way and that the majority of the Cabinet will be for doing so. Everything looks as black as possible, and the Emperor Napoleon's speech to the Imperial Guard

following Persigny's article in the 'Morning Post' wears a very menacing aspect. It is possible indeed that he may have held this language in order to frighten us into a more pacific disposition, but so far from being alarming or unpalatable to the majority here, they will hail with satisfaction any intimation of his resolution to make war on Prussia ; and if Louis Napoleon will only go on fighting against Russia, they will be quite willing that he should take whatever he pleases from any other power which will not join us in our present crusade.' I often wonder what the Duke of Wellington would have said and thought if he could have lived to see this day, and the madness of this nation.

*London, January 9th.*—I came to town on Monday and found when I arrived that there was a fresh glimmering of peace. Austria had sent word she was inclined to believe that Russia intended to accept the terms. I went to Lewis, who told me this was true, but he did not know on what ground their opinion rested more than that ten days had elapsed during which no symptoms of a flat refusal had appeared, and Lewis himself thought there was no doubt they were considering whether they should accept or what reply they should make. Colloredo called on Clarendon the other day, and, after some unimportant talk, asked him if he had ever heard, or had reason to believe, that Russia had made a communication to France to the effect that if France had a mind to take the Rhenish Provinces and make peace with her, she should not oppose such a design. Clarendon replied that he knew nothing of it, but thought it not at all improbable.

Bernstorff had a conversation with Reeve the other day in which he told him that he was much put out at the isolated condition of Prussia, and gave him to understand that he should like the King to join the alliance, but he did not think anything would induce him to do so. It might perhaps be prudent, but it would be enormously base if Prussia were to come *au secours des vainqueurs*, and, now that Russia is in exceeding distress, to join England and France, to whom she certainly is under

no obligations, in crushing her. But then it would only be prudent for the moment and to remove an immediate and impending danger, for in the more comprehensive view of the balance of power and with reference to general policy, it would be far wiser to leave the power of Russia undiminished. Germany has nothing to fear from Russia, for the notion of her being eternally animated with designs of conquest in every direction is a mere chimæra which the people who propagate it do not themselves believe. The part she has played for many years past has been that of a pacifier, and her only intervention has been to appease quarrels, and resist the progress of democracy and revolution. In 1848 it was the authority of the Emperor Nicholas which prevented a great war between Austria and Prussia which would have made all Germany a scene of havoc and bloodshed. Our Government now evidently expect a proposal from Russia to negotiate, and are living in hopes that it may be rejected *in limine* by Esterhazy, and that they shall be able to prevail on the Emperor Napoleon not to consent to any overture that may be made to him through any other channel.

*January 15th.*—I came to town yesterday morning and found on my arrival the Russian answer, which was pretty much what I expected. I suspect our Government will have been disappointed that so much was conceded as to make a peremptory rejection so monstrous as to be hardly safe. However, Esterhazy has been ordered to withdraw on the 18th, unless everything else is conceded. Granville fancies they are not unlikely to do this, but I am persuaded they will not. It remains to be seen what the French will do, for all depends on them. I asked Granville what he thought would be the end of it ; he said *on the whole* he was rather disposed to expect it would lead to peace ; he said Austria did not mean to go to war with Russia in any case, he thought she had played her cards with considerable dexterity, and made herself a sort of arbitress, and, what she most desired, had got a decided lead of Prussia, the object of her hatred. I asked him if Prussia was

terrified at the menaces contained in the Emperor's speech and other things against her, and he said he thought she was irritated but not frightened, and he inveighed against the folly of such speeches, and especially such articles as Persigny, if it was he, had put into the 'Morning Post.'

'January 16th.—So far as I can as yet discover of public opinion; it is in favour of accepting, or at all events of negotiating on the Russian proposals. The 'Times' has an ambiguous article on the subject. Nobody will approve of the continuation of the war merely to obtain an Austrian object, which the cession of Bessarabia is, and the article about Bomarsund, which has nothing to do with the avowed object of the war. I have not the least doubt one half of the Cabinet, at least, are in their hearts of this opinion, but I am afraid they will not have the courage to stand forth, avow, and act upon it.

'January 17th.—I saw Lewis yesterday and for the first time saw something approaching to *a certainty* of peace. His information was curious: the 'Morning Post,' in the statement inserted by Persigny, said that the Russians had rejected the conditions about Bessarabia and about Bomarsund, and had accepted the rest. In the counter proposition of Russia there was no mention of Bomarsund, and for this very good reason, that no such proposal was made to them. When the terms of Austria and France were sent here our Government objected to that article which said the Allies reserved to themselves to make *other* conditions, or some such words. They said it was not fair, and that they should at once say what they wanted, and *all* they wanted, and the additions they proposed were that Bomarsund should not be restored, that Consuls should be admitted to the Black Sea ports, and that 'something' should be done about Georgia and Circassia. This was their answer, and our allies agreed to these additions, but for what reason has not as yet appeared. They sent the terms to St. Petersburg in their original shape and without our articles, so that in fact no condition about Bomarsund was made to them. The Cabinet met yesterday to determine what answer should be sent to Paris,

the French having notified that they would make no reply to the counter proposal till they were apprised of our sentiments thereupon. Lewis said he had no doubt that both Governments would be willing to enter upon negotiation on these terms, France and Austria being anxious for peace and our Government not averse, for they begin to perceive that there is a rapidly increasing disposition to put an end to the war, and particularly that nobody will desire to continue it merely to obtain an exclusively Austrian object, which the cession of part of Bessarabia would be, especially as Austria has no thought of going to war. The Russian Government have written in a very conciliatory tone to Paris, which is known, though the letter has not yet arrived. The King of Prussia had written a private, but very pressing letter to the Emperor of Russia etc., treating him to make peace. Though very private, the French Government contrived to get a copy of it, and Cowley sent this copy home. It is said to be a very able letter written in a most confidential style. Such being the state of affairs, and all parties apparently being agreed in a disposition to put an end to the war, it seemed to me quite certain that the negotiations would be established, and that they would lead to peace. In the evening I asked Granville if he did not think we should now certainly have peace, and he said, 'I think so, but there are still a great many complications,' and he said Cowley and Walewski were on such bad terms that they hardly spoke. The fact is that Cowley is a gentleman and a man of honour and veracity, but he is sensitive and prone to take offence; the other is an adventurer, a needy speculator, without honour, conscience, or truth, and utterly unfit both as to his character and his capacity for such an office as he holds. Then it must be owned that it must be intolerably provoking to Walewski or any man in his situation to see Cowley established in such strange relations with the Emperor, being at least for certain purposes more his Minister for Foreign Affairs than Walewski himself.

12 o'clock.—Payne has just rushed in here, to say that a

telegraphic message, dated Vienna, ten o'clock last night, announces that 'Russia accepts *unconditionally* the proposals of the Allies.' The consequence of this astounding intelligence was such a state of confusion and excitement on the Stock Exchange as was hardly ever seen before. The newspapers had one and all gone on predicting that the negotiations would lead to nothing, and that the war would go on, so that innumerable people continued to be 'bears,' and they were all rushing to get out as fast as they could. It remains yet to be seen whether it is really true ; if it is, the Russians will be prodigiously provoked when they find that this concession was superfluous, and that the Allies would have accepted *their* terms.

*January 18th.*—Though the account in the 'Times' was not exactly correct, it proved substantially so. The right message came from Seymour soon after. There was such a scene in the Stock Exchange as was hardly ever witnessed ; the funds rose three per cent., making five in the last two days. The Rothschilds, and all the French who were in the secret with Walewski, must have made untold sums. I have been endeavouring to account for what appears the extraordinary conduct of Russia in accepting the Austrian terms purely and simply, and this strikes me to be the solution of it, and if my idea is correct it will account for the exceedingly bad terms which Cowley and Walewski are on. The conditions offered to Russia contained none of the points insisted on by our Government. I believe that the French and Austrians believed, very likely were certain, that if they had been sent Russia would have refused them, and, being bent on peace, they resolved to leave them out, and excuse themselves to England as they best could ; they therefore simply presented their proposal as it originally stood. Russia replied with a qualified acceptance, and then Esterhazy was obliged by the compact to say that he could only take yes or no ; then, finding them not inclined to give any other answer, that he or somebody else told them the true state of the case, viz. that he had

kept back the conditions *we* had demanded, and that unless they accepted his proposition, it must of necessity fall to the ground, and that nothing would then prevent the English points being brought forward and made absolute conditions of any fresh preliminaries. This was very likely to determine them to accept the proposals as put before them, for although by so doing they accepted the fifth condition, which exposes them to further and not specified demands, the especial points on which we insist can only be brought forward as points for negotiation, and will not form part of those conditions to which by their acceptance they stand completely and irrevocably pledged.

*London, January 22nd.*--I went to Trentham on Friday, and returned yesterday. Granville is very confident of peace, fancying that Russia will make no difficulties, and will agree to our additional demands, which may be so, but seems to me far from certain. The intelligence of peace being at hand, or probable, gives no satisfaction here, and the whole press is violent against it, and thunders away against Russia and Austria, warns the people not to expect peace, and incites them to go on with the war. There seems little occasion for this, for the press has succeeded in inoculating the public with such an eager desire for war that there appears a general regret at the notion of making peace. When I was at Trentham, I asked Mr. Fleming, the gardener, a very intelligent man, what the general feeling was in that part of the world, and he said the general inclination was to go on with the war till we had made Russia, besides other concessions, pay all its expenses. It appears to me impossible the *entente cordiale* with France can go on long if the war goes on, when the people here are passionate for war, and in France they are equally passionate for peace. If the Emperor goes on with the war he will be very popular here, which does not signify much to him, but give deep offence to his own countrymen, which will be of vital importance to him, and no wonder, for their disgust will be intense at being compelled to carry on a war at a ruinous expense,

merely because it is the pleasure of the English to do so. This seems so obvious that I do not believe, after having gone so far, and excited such strong hopes of peace, that he will dare to disappoint the expectations of the country. What the people of England would really like would be to engage France to continue, and to issue a joint declaration of war against Austria and Prussia.

*January 23rd.*—Telegraphic news yesterday that Austria positively refuses to send our supplementary conditions to St. Petersburg. France backed us up, or at least pretended to do so, for it is quite impossible to know what she really does. Baudin is come over here, supposed to be for the purpose of explaining and apologising for Walewski's not having sent the conditions originally. I do not know what excuse he makes. Lewis thinks as I do, that the real reason was his fear lest they should endanger the acceptance by Russia of the conditions. Our Government believe, or at least pretend to do so, that the Emperor was innocent of this *ruse* and that Walewski is alone guilty; but I doubt it, for I cannot believe Walewski would dare to do such a thing without his master's knowledge and consent, and should not be surprised if the whole thing was the Emperor's doing.

There is a tremendous clamour got up by the press against Lord Stratford on account of his neglect of General Williams at Kars and leaving his appeals for aid unattended to. Stratford has sent home a defence of himself, and, I hear, a skilful one. I do not think they will remove him, because they say he is now acting *bond fide* according to his instructions, and exerting all his influence to smooth any difficulties that may arise at Constantinople in adjusting the terms of peace. But it is likely that the Turks are now very anxious for peace, as they are exceedingly sick of their protectors, by whom their dignity and independence are quite as much compromised as by their enemies, while the process of exhaustion is going on at a constantly increasing ratio.

*January 26th.*—Yesterday morning Disraeli called on me,

and after we had discussed some private affairs, he began talking politics. He is very triumphant at his pacific views and expectations having turned out so true, and at the 'Press' newspaper having proved to be right. He said, he had never stood so well with the *best* men of his party as he did now, that he is to have forty-five men, the cream of the Conservatives, to dine with him on Wednesday next. He then talked of Derby and the blunders he had made in spite of all the advice he had given and the remonstrances he had made to him, that he had written to him and told him what he knew from undoubted authority must and would happen about peace, and implored him not to commit himself to the continuance of the war, but that Derby with all his great talents had no discretion, and suffered himself to be led and influenced by some of the weakest and least capable men of his party. So instead of listening to what Disraeli said to him, he writes a long, reasoned reply to his arguments in the same way he would have replied to a speech in the House of Lords, and when he went to Scotland he had the folly to go to some meeting got up for the purpose, and then to make a violent war speech. I asked him how Derby and Stanley got on together, and he said that they were so much attached to each other, and Stanley had so profound a filial veneration for his father, that personal feelings silenced all political differences, and nothing would induce Stanley to take any public part adverse to his father's policy and opinions. It was evident that there is little political cordiality between Derby and Disraeli, and a considerable split in the party. If Disraeli is to be believed, the best of the Conservatives are disposed to go with him rather than with Derby, but I own I much doubt this. However, it will soon be seen what the state of that party is.

No further advance has been made towards the arrangements, but it is clear peace will be made. George Grey told me so yesterday, and intimated as much as that small difficulties must and would be got over. France, Austria, and Russia are resolved on peace, and England cannot alone make herself

an obstacle. I suppose it will end in some compromise upon the points remaining in dispute.

Macaulay has retired from Parliament, where he had done nothing since his last election; he hardly ever attended and never spoke, or certainly not more than once. It is to be hoped his life will be spared to bring down his history to the end of Queen Anne's reign, which is all that can possibly be expected.

*January 31st.*—Parliament meets to-day. Who would have thought a few weeks ago that the Queen's Speech would announce the preliminaries of peace? Who would ever have thought that tidings of peace would produce a general sentiment of disappointment and dissatisfaction in this nation? There are, however, sundry symptoms of an approaching change in the public mind. The press is much perplexed; the newspapers do not know what to say. They confidently predicted that there would be no peace, and urged the people to go on clamouring for war as long as they could; but since they have seen that their noise is ineffectual, and that peace is inevitable, they have nearly left off inveighing against it, because doing so without any result only exhibits their own impotence, which is just what they most wish to avoid. They therefore now confine themselves to a sort of undergrowl, muttering abuse against Russia and Austria, calling out for more stringent terms, and still indulging in a desperate hope that some unexpected difficulty may occur to break off the negotiations and plunge us into war again. The Opposition are as much perplexed as the press, and do not know what course to take, or what is the most vulnerable part of the Government, and they are not agreed among themselves.

So in the meantime they seem disposed to vent themselves in a fierce attack on Baron Parke's Life Peerage. This peerage has excited great wrath even in many who are friendly to the Government, and probably in all who are unfriendly. Amongst those who most vehemently resent it are Lord Campbell, Lord Lyndhurst, and, as I am told, Brougham. There is much to

be said about it either way, and it will probably give rise to some good debates and not uninteresting.

As one of many other proofs of the difficulty of getting at truth, and therefore of having history correctly written, I must record a fact not very important in itself. Lewis distinctly told me that it was *France* (i.e. Walewski) who kept back our conditions when the Austrian propositions were returned to Vienna; now Granville tells me it was not France, but Austria, who is responsible for their not having been sent to St. Petersburg, and that Walewski did send them to Vienna. The truth probably is that he gave notice to Buol that we wanted these things, but did not incorporate them with the propositions, and that Buol, though apprised of them, did not choose to insert what France had not chosen to insert herself. It is quite impossible to believe that they can make any serious difficulty; it is time to make peace with Russia when our relations with America are assuming a very unpleasant aspect.

*February 3rd.*—Parliament opened very quietly, and there was no disposition evinced to find fault with the Government, or to throw obstacles in the way of making peace. A great change has certainly come over the country within the last fortnight or three weeks, not that people are not still sorry to see the end of the war, and rather inclined to view the peace with suspicion as well as dislike, but they have no grounds for complaint, they see that it is inevitable, and they are disposed to acquiesce.

Derby came down full of opposition but rather puzzled how to vent it, so he criticised the Speech, which was a very poor and bald composition, made a great stir about Kars, and announced a fierce attack on Baron Parke's Life Peerage.

In the House of Commons everything was very *piano*, and Disraeli quite moderate. The Government are much puzzled about this unlucky Life Peerage. The thing is done, and now they find themselves condemned by a large majority which includes all the Law Peers. If any vote can be taken on it in the House of Lords, they will be beaten.

The Conferences will begin in about three weeks, and probably be very soon over, for it is the object of all parties to put an end to the enormous expense which, every day that the war lasts, is increased, and no doubt is entertained by the well-informed that Russia is in earnest, and will go through with it firmly and sincerely. The most unpleasant incident is the difference with America, which has a bad aspect, but when they learn that we are going to make peace with Russia we flatter ourselves the Americans will become reasonable.<sup>1</sup> If a war should ensue it would be still more insane than the Russian war, for we should be fighting absolutely for no object whatever, and merely from the collision of the proud and angry feelings of the two nations. Neither would gain anything if the other were to give way and concede all that is in dispute as to the Central American question.

*February 7th.*—Nothing can be more extraordinary than the lull here, after so much sound and fury, while the negotiations and question of peace or war are pending. There is evidently a complete acquiescence in the coming peace, though if the terms are not as stringent as people expect, there will be a great deal of grumbling and abuse of the Government.

The case with America looks bad, but nobody can seriously believe that war between the two countries can possibly arise out of such questions as those now pending. It will probably end in the return of Crampton, and the return of Buchanan, suspension of diplomatic relations for a time, then fresh negotiations and a reconciliation, but no war.

*February 9th.*—The debate in the House of Lords on the Wensleydale Perage was interesting but inconclusive. Lyndhurst made, as usual, a wonderful speech for his age. He contrived with much dexterity to avoid the question of legality, which he evidently thought he could not disprove; Campbell

<sup>1</sup> [Differences had arisen between the British and the American Governments in consequence of the enlistment of American citizens in the British army during the war, and also with reference to the British possessions in Central America.]

and St. Leonards boldly pronounced it illegal; Brougham admitted the legality; all the lawyers but the Chancellor are dead against the Life Peerage. Out of the House, Lushington is clear for it; Pemberton Leigh against; both of them have been offered and have refused peerages. The result appears to be that the patent is not illegal, but there was no sufficient cause, and therefore that it was a great folly to deviate from the usual course in Parke's case. It is awkward, and both the Opposition and the Government seem very much puzzled what to do. The best course on the whole seems to be (and it probably will so end) to confer on the Baron an hereditary peerage, and let the question of life peers stand over for the present, to be better considered and discussed hereafter when circumstances may require such a measure.

Palmerston made a very good speech last night on the American questions, judicious and becoming, and it was very well received. According to present appearances the Government is in no danger of being turned out, and if they make a peace which satisfies, and bring in and pass some good measures, they may actually become strong.

*February 15th.*—While the world is waiting with tolerable patience for the opening of the negotiations, it has got two subjects to occupy and interest it, and to give rise to plenty of discussion and dispute. The first is the Life Peerage question, which is become very embarrassing to its opponents and its advocates. There is a great majority of the lawyers against it, but more on the score of its being improper and inexpedient, *perhaps* unconstitutional, than that it is absolutely illegal. The highest authority in favour of it seems to be Dr. Lushington, who refused to be made a peer when a peerage was pressed upon him. The Government are determined to fight it out, and on no account to give way. Nobody knows with whom the project originated, but there is a very general idea that it was with the Prince. General Grey, however, told his brother, the Earl, that the Prince had nothing to do with it, and that His Royal Highness knew nothing of the matter till after it had

been settled. I cannot see how it can be *illegal*, and neither the danger nor the inexpediency of making Life Peers is quite apparent to me ; but I think it has been a blunder, and that so great a novelty ought not to have been suddenly sprung upon the world without any attempt to ascertain how it would be regarded, and Derby's argument it is very difficult to meet. He says that when a certain prerogative has not been exercised for 400 years, such long disuse of it, if it does not amount to an abrogation of it, at all events throws such a doubt upon it as to make the exercise of it now exceedingly questionable, and it appears by the precedents that in every case of a Life Peerage it was done *consensu procerum*, or *consensu procerum et communitatis*, that is, by consent of the Lords, or by Act of Parliament. The whole question is so obscure and uncertain, that it is impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion drawn from precedents and usage. In spite of the resolution of the Government, I doubt whether they will not be compelled to give way in some manner, for the Opposition appear to be equally resolved not to let Baron Parke take his scat.

The other subject is Sir John McNeill's report,<sup>1</sup> which has already elicited violent articles in the papers, and will occasion hot debates in the House of Commons, perhaps in both Houses. The report furnishes a strong *prima facie* case against Airey and Gordon, Q.M. and A.Q.M. Generals, and *par ricochet* against Hardinge himself, also against Lucan and Cardigan. The accused parties vehemently complain, and insist upon being allowed to vindicate themselves. Probably in the course of the discussions a good deal of the truth, but not all, will come out. It may be doubted whether there is any part of our military administration, as well as of our military operations during this war, on which it is possible to reveal and explain everything without showing up the French, and this has been the reason why all investigations and explanations have had such imperfect and unsatisfactory results. If the charges of McNeill are true,

<sup>1</sup> [Sir John McNeill had been sent to the Crimea and Constantinople to investigate the causes of the sufferings of the troops in the winter 1854-55.]

it seems to me that the man most to blame was Raglan, who was supreme, omnipotent, and responsible, and who ought not to have allowed the evils, which were notorious, to go on accumulating, without applying those effectual remedies which, according to the report, were abundantly at his disposal ; but of course everybody will shrink from casting the blame posthumously upon him. The ‘Times’ has now found that the losses and sufferings of the army were erroneously and wrongfully attributed to the Government at home. McNeill has brought back with him notes of conversations with Raglan, in which Raglan told him that most if not all of the things he had been so bitterly reproached for were all owing to the opposition and contradiction he met with from the French, Canrobert especially.

Cowley, who called on me the day before yesterday, said he should be very glad to have peace concluded, in order that our intimate connexion and dependence on each other might be at an end, for the difficulties arising therefrom, and the impossibility of placing any reliance on the French Ministers, were a perpetual source of annoyance. He thinks the Emperor honest and true, but that he is surrounded by a parcel of men everyone of whom is dishonest and false. The Emperor knows this, and knows what is thought of his ministers, but he says, ‘What am I to do ? and where can I find better men who will enter my service ?’

Clarendon came here to-day to take leave of me on going to the Conference in Paris. He talks despondingly, but less about making peace than about making one that will be acceptable here. He augurs well from the choice of Russian Plenipotentiaries who are both personally agreeable to him, for he knows Orloff very intimately. When he took leave of Brunnow three years ago he said to him, ‘If ever you see a good chance of peace, let me know,’ and now Brunnow has sent him a message reminding him of what he had said, and telling him he now saw it. It was Clarendon who fixed on Paris for the Conference, everybody else being against it,

especially the Emperor Napoleon and Palmerston, but Clarendon thought the advantage of having personal communication with the Emperor himself outweighed every other consideration, and he is right. Louis Napoleon will be the arbiter, and the struggle will be between England and Russia to get possession of him. Brunnow arrived at Paris to-day, the first arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, and he was received with great acclamations and manifestations of joy. Clarendon is dissatisfied at Brunnow's having got there first as if to steal a march on him, but this is unreasonable, as no particular day was fixed for their coming at once, and Clarendon might have been the first if he had chosen it, and Cavour is to be there to-day or to-morrow.

February 21st.—A week has passed since most of the Plenipotentiaries arrived at Paris, and we hear nothing of what has been going on amongst them ; at least I hear nothing except that Clarendon writes word he is quite satisfied with the Emperor—the Hollands, that all sorts of intrigues are ripe, Brunnow, Morny, and Madame de Lieven closeted together for hours, and Madame de Lieven writes to me in melancholy mood, saying she anticipates many difficulties, and complaining of the *exigences* which she hears of as probable, and how ungenerous as well as impolitic it is to make no allowance for the difficulty of the Emperor's position *vis à vis* of his own people, and to bear so hard upon him. From all this I infer that the Russians have been informed that the Emperor Napoleon has engaged to back us up in our *exigences*, the principal of which is probably the dismantling of Nicolaieff ; this may be inferred from what has appeared in the French press. The 'Journal des Débats' published an article saying we had no right to demand this, to which the 'Siècle' replied asserting we had a right, and the article in the 'Siècle' was copied into the 'Moniteur,' which was tantamount to a recognition and approval of it. There are rumours afloat here that matters are not going on satisfactorily at Paris, and, taking all these things together, it looks as if the horizon was a little overcast, but as Orloff was only to arrive at Paris last night

nothing essential can as yet have passed. Meaning this country remains in the same passive and expectant state, so far behaving very well that there is not the least stir or any attempt to make peace more difficult, not a word said in Parliament, no meetings or petitions, the 'Times' nearly silent, and only an under-growl from time to time from the Radical or malignant journals. But all who have had any opportunity of testing the state of public feeling agree that the peace, be it what it may, will be taken with regret, and that if Clarendon were to return having broken off the negotiations, and to announce that the war would go on, he would be hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, and the ardour for war would break out with redoubled force.

While this lull has been going on upon the great question, the world has been less passionately moved and interested by the affair of the Wensleydale Peerage, and nobody has talked of anything else for the last ten days but this and the Crimean Report. The general feeling amongst the lawyers and in society is against the Life Peerage, but the Government are very reluctant to give way and to own themselves beaten upon it. To-night is the great, and, it may be hoped, final struggle in the House of Lords upon it, when nobody doubts that the Government will be beaten.

Last night the Evangelical and Sabbatarian interest had a great victory in the House of Commons, routing those who endeavoured to effect the opening of the National Gallery and British Museum on Sunday. The only man of importance who sustained this unequal and imprudent contest was Lord Stanley. At this moment cant and Puritanism are in the ascendant, and so far from effecting any anti-Sabbatarian reform, it will be very well if we escape some of the more stringent measures against Sunday occupations and amusements with which Exeter Hall and the prevailing spirit threaten us.

*February 24th.*—A letter from Lady Clarendon, who says 'the report about things going ill is false, and as yet things have hardly begun. The Emperor in feelings and opinions is

everything that Clarendon could desire.' Madame de Lieven received Clarendon *à bras ouverts*, but said very little to him. This morning I called on George Lewis, and had a long talk about the prospects of peace. He said Palmerston, according to his ancient custom, was doing all he could to extort as much as possible from Russia, writing to Clarendon in this strain constantly and urging him to insist on more and more concessions ; but Lewis thinks notwithstanding this that Palmerston has quite made up his mind for peace, and that he makes demands very often with the expectation of being refused, and the intention of not insisting on them if he finds a very determined resistance. One point of difference is Kars ; the Russians not unfairly wish to have some equivalent for surrendering it, and Palmerston insists that they are not entitled to any. In the preliminaries it was settled that we were to restore all our conquests, and they were in return to give up part of Bessarabia. At that time Kars was not taken, and now they say the relative positions of the parties are altered, and 'if we are to restore Kars, that ought to be set against the restoration of Kinburn, the part of the Crimea you occupy, &c., and having got an equivalent in Kars, you ought to relax your demand for Bessarabia.' To this Palmerston replies that the Russians are to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish dominions, of which Kars is a part, and therefore their restoration of it is a matter of course for which no equivalent is necessary. This argument is not logical, and no arbitrator would admit it. It is a good point to wrangle upon, and if the Russians knock under it will be because they are resolved to submit to any terms rather than not have peace.

It is much the same thing about Nicolaieff, as to which the Emperor appears at present disposed to back us up. Lewis disapproves of our *exigencies* and Palmerston's tone. He thinks on both points the Russians have good cases, and that Palmerston and Clarendon are only fighting for them in order to have a more plausible and showy peace to set before the country. He says we never thought of demanding the destruction of the

docks of Nicolaiesf *at first*, and that our demanding it now is a mere afterthought, and in pursuance of the plan of starting as many demands as we can to take the chance of what we can get. Lewis disapproves of this course, and urged me to encourage Clarendon not to lend himself to exigencies unjust in themselves, but to do what he really thinks right and necessary without fear of the consequences.

When we had done talking of this matter he said he wanted to speak to me about the Peerage question, which had assumed a shape which he thought menaced great embarrassment, if not danger. The Government, he said, would not give way, and he was himself opposed to their doing so ; but what was to be done ? I said I did not see what the Government could do, nor why they should not give way when they had resolved to fight and had been fairly beaten ; but he thought they should stultify themselves by acknowledging they had been wrong, and that such a course would oblige the Chancellor to resign. I controverted these propositions and said they would stultify themselves much more, if from motives of vanity and pride they chose to let the House of Lords remain without that assistance to obtain which was the pretext for Parke's creation. On the whole, Lewis seemed to think the least objectionable course would be to pass a bill enabling the Crown to make a certain number of Life Peers, but he overlooked the fact that this would be as much a confession of error, and an acknowledgement that the Queen had no such prerogative, as to make Lord Wensleydale an hereditary Peer. My advice was to make him an hereditary Viscount. I was obliged to go away and had not time to talk it out. In the afternoon, I spoke to Campbell and Lyndhurst about it, and asked what they proposed, and how the difficulty was to be got over. They naturally want the Government to knock under and give up the hereditary peerage : they both scouted the idea of Parke coming down to the House of Lords and insisting on being admitted and making a scene. Lyndhurst to-night is to give notice of motion for a Committee to consider the Appellate Jurisdiction.

*February 27th.*—The debate in the Lords on Monday night affords a prospect of an amicable termination of the Peerage case, but the Government still have a lingering hope that by some management and contrivance they may avoid the necessity of submitting to their defeat and acting accordingly. There is to be a Committee on the Appellate Jurisdiction, and they think they may obtain some report which may enable them to get out of their scrape, but the only way I can make out by which they think of doing this is to lay the foundation of a bill to enable the Crown to make a limited number of Life Peers. This would, however, be a more formal acknowledgement of error, and that the Queen does not possess the prerogative, than any other course. I expect they will at last be driven to adopt the course I recommended, that of making Parke a Viscount, hereditary of course.

Last night, Disraeli made a bitter attack on the Government, to which Labouchere replied with a spirit for which nobody gave him credit. The Opposition displayed great warmth, and a disposition to show serious fight on any occasion they could find. Certainly the Government cuts a very poor figure, and it is difficult not to think that as soon as the all-absorbing question of peace or war is decided, they will be much put to it to defend themselves, unless they conduct affairs much better for the future than they have done up to the present time. Hitherto they have presented a series of blunders, failures, and exposures. First of all the Peerage question ; then, much worse, in the House of Commons, Lowe's Bill on Shipping Dues, which Palmerston was obliged to withdraw last night, not at all creditably, and the failure of which was in a great measure attributable to Lowe's very injudicious speech, which, as he is the organ of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons, was in itself a great evil and misfortune. George Grey's Bill on County Police meets with such opposition that though it is a very good measure he will probably not be able to carry it. But still worse than these are the case of the Crimean Report with all its incidents, one blunder after another,

and the wretched exhibition of Monsell in moving the Ordnance Estimates, amounting to a complete break-down. All these things, one after another, place the Government in a very weak and contemptible position, and show that in spite of Palmerston's having recovered a good deal of his personal popularity in the House of Commons, his Government has no strength, and his being able to go on at all is only owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the country is placed, and the extreme difficulty of any other Government being formed which would be palatable to the country, more efficient, and therefore stronger and more durable than the present.

To-morrow I purpose going to Paris to see and hear what is going on at this interesting moment.

*Paris, March 1st, 1856.*—I left London on Thursday with M. de Flahault and my brother. We slept at Boulogne, and after a prosperous journey in all its stages, found myself in my old quarters at the Embassy yesterday evening at seven o'clock. I had hardly arrived before a card came from Morny, who gave a great evening party with two *petites pièces* and music. I went there with Lady Cowley. The crowd was so great that I saw nothing whatever of the spectacle, but was pretty well amused, for I met some old acquaintance, made some new ones, and was presented to some of the celebrities of the day. I was much struck with the ugliness of the women, and the extreme *recherche* of their costumes. Nature has done nothing for them, their *modistes* all that is possible. The old friends I met were La Marre and Bourqueney, whom I have not seen since he was Secretary of Embassy to Guizot, when we had so much to do together about the affairs of the East. I made acquaintance with Fleury, the Empress's Grand Écuyer, renewed it with Bacchichi, and I was presented to Cavour and the Grand Vizier, as little like the *beau idéal* of a Grand Vizier as can well be imagined, but by all accounts a Turk *comme il y en a peu.* He is a very little, dark, spare, mild-looking man, speaks French perfectly, and exceedingly clever, well-informed, enlightened, and honourable. He was Grand Vizier once before, and owes his

present elevation to his great personal merit. He accepted the post with reluctance, feeling sure Stratford would torment him to death and get him turned out again, but it seems as if his high qualities, and the general respect with which he is regarded, would enable him to maintain himself against all intrigues, and even against Stratford's predominance. I met Clarendon, but had hardly any opportunity of talking to him, as he was every moment interrupted by people come up to do civilities to him. He had just time to tell me that matters are going on very slowly, and that he sees no reason why he should not be kept here for the next six months. Orloff had met him *à bras ouverts* and renewed their old Petersburg friendship. Brunnow he is disgusted with, and says he has made a bad impression here. He told me he had said to Brunnow : 'You were in England long enough to know what a special pleader is ; well, if all other trades should fail you, take to that.'

Orloff spoke very frankly about the war, and the conduct of the late Emperor, which he had always regarded as insane in sending Menschikoff to Constantinople. If he had sent him, Orloff, instead, he would answer for it, there would have been no war. Then marching into the Principalities, and finally not accepting the modifications of the Vienna Note. After this, Orloff said, he had declined to have anything more to do with those affairs, and had retired in disgust. He thought Nicholas's mind had undergone a change after he had reached sixty years of age.

Clarendon said he was delighted with the Emperor and liked him better and better every time he saw him. I met Walewski, who said he wanted to talk to me, when he expressed great anxiety to know the state of opinion in England, and talked of the chances of peace, and particularly wished to know if I thought Palmerston really and sincerely desired peace. I told him the exact truth as to opinion in England, and said I believed Palmerston was now sincere in wishing to make peace, but that it was in his nature to be *exigeant*, and he thought it necessary to be so now because it was of great moment to him to present

to the country a peace with as many concessions as possible from Russia. I said it depended on France after all, and then I found that while they thought Bomarsund ought to be an indispensable condition, Nicolaieff ought not ; and so we parted, and I promised to dine with him on Monday.

This morning after breakfast I had a long conversation with Cowley. He did not speak despondingly of the peace, but he dilated on the difficulty of coming to satisfactory terms, and such as Clarendon could consent to, which he attributes principally to the French, who, having gained all the glory they want for the satisfaction of their national vanity, have no longer any desire to go on with the war, and we are placed by them in a fix. ‘If,’ he said, ‘our army was in Asia Minor he should not care, because then we might say to them, Do just what you please, make peace if it suits you, we shall not resent it or have any quarrel with you, but we will carry on the war on our own account. As it is, if we insist on renewing the war, the French *cannot*, and would not abandon us, and leave us to be attacked by superior Russian armies ; they would therefore very reluctantly go on with the war, but it would be well known that we were dragging them on with us, and the exasperation against us would be great and general, and, say what we might, a quarrel between France and England would infallibly ensue.’ He said all the objections he had entertained against Paris being the place of conference had been more than realised, and that the thing to have done would have been to have it in some dull German town, where there would have been no amusements and occupations, and no intrigues, and where they would have applied themselves vigorously to their work in order to get it done as quickly as possible. I have not, however, as yet made out what intrigues there are, but there is of course a vast deal of *commerçage* going on.

The conferences take place every other day, beginning at one, and they generally last about four hours. Walewski presides, and, they say, does it pretty well ; M. Benedetti, the Chef de Département in the Foreign Office, is the Protocollist and Rédacteur ; the manner of it is conversational, but they occasionally

make speeches, Walewski told me. I asked Clarendon in the evening how they were going on, and he said he thought they were making a little progress, but that the French did all they could to render it impossible.

I called on Madame de Lieven in the morning, who did not seem to know much beyond what lies on the surface. She is craving for news and eager for peace. Orloff has kept aloof from her, to her great mortification, and rather to the malicious satisfaction of her enemies, but he went to see her at last the day before yesterday, and, I suppose, accounted for the delay, for she spoke of him as if they were friends, though of course she would take care not to say a word of complaint or to have it supposed, if she could help it, that he had neglected her. She complained that in our *exigence* we did not make allowance enough for the difficulties of the Emperor of Russia's position, for, however necessary peace might be to Russia, there is a very great party there who from pride and obstinacy would carry on the war at all risks and hazards. She talked much of the enormous faults that had been committed throughout the whole of the Eastern question, and of the severe retribution the pride of the late Emperor had drawn down on his country, and remarked, which is quite true, that this would be the first time in the history of Russia in which she had made a disadvantageous peace; for even in her wars against Napoleon, when she had suffered defeat after defeat, she had still concluded peace with a gain of territory. I saw the Hollands, Guizot at Madame de Lieven's door, called on Lady Clarendon, and then went to ride with Lady Cowley in the Bois, and so the evening and the morning were the first day. The weather is cold and gloomy, and I don't think I shall stay here long.

*March 3rd.*—Went about visiting yesterday, and at night to the Tuileries, an evening party and play, two small pieces; the Emperor was very civil to me as usual, came up to me and shook hands; he talked to Orloff and to Clarendon, then the Grande Maitresse told him the Empress was ready, when ne

went out and came back with her on his arm. Mathilde, Princess Murat, and Plon Plon following. As the Emperor passed before me he stopped and presented me to the Empress. I was introduced to Orloff, and in the course of the evening had a long talk with Brunnow, who said *they* had made all the advances and concessions they could, and it was for us to move towards peace, and not to advance one step and then retreat two. . .

This morning I went to see the opening of the legislative bodies, and hear the Emperor's Speech. It was a gay and pretty sight, so full of splendour and various colours, but rather theatrical. He read his speech very well and the substance of it gave satisfaction; it was not easy to compose it, but he did it exceedingly well, and steered clear of the ticklish points with great adroitness and tact. It sounded odd to English ears to hear a Royal Speech applauded at the end of each paragraph, and the shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur' from the Senators and Deputies.

After Cowley came home he began talking over the state of affairs, and the peace we are going to make, about which his grief and disappointment are overflowing. He says the Emperor had the best intentions, but has been beset with men who were determined on peace for their own ends, and whom he could not resist. What he blames him for is not having at once said that he would go so far with us and no farther, and not have allowed us to delude ourselves with expectations of support from him that were not to be realised. He says it is now all over, the matter decided, it will proceed rapidly, and all be finished by Easter.

*At night.*—I have been dining with Walewski, a very handsome dinner to the Sardinians, and a party afterwards. Knowing none of the people, it was a bore; I found nobody to converse with but Cavour and Flahault; talked over the state of affairs with the latter and our discontents. He said the Emperor could not refuse, and when Clarendon came over and found His Majesty's conversation so satisfactory, he was misled

by it and fancied he should obtain his support to all our demands ; he owned that it would have been better if the Emperor had been more explicit. When I got home I found Cowley, who was engaged in drawing up a statement of the comparative state of Russia, as to her aggressive power against Turkey before the war and now, after peace has been made. He is doing this for Clarendon and to assist him in making his case good in Parliament when the peace is attacked, as he says it is quite certain it will be. I asked him what were the points on which the Russians made the most difficulty. He said on *all* except Bomarsund. He is quite convinced that Walewski has played false, and that he has made known to Orloff exactly what he must give up, and when he may be stout.

*March 5<sup>th</sup>.*--Little to record ; Cowley continues talking to me of the state of affairs as it is and as it might have been, and is excessively dejected and disgusted at the idea of the peace he is about to sign ; he thinks it neither creditable nor likely to be durable, but we start from such different points of view that it is impossible for us to agree. He harps upon the evil done by having the Conference here, and certainly the advantage Clarendon promised himself from having it here has proved null, for the Emperor does not send for him, having no mind to talk to him, and he will not ask an audience of the Emperor, though Cowley urges him very much to do it. He acknowledges, however, that it would be now too late, and that nothing more can be done ; he thinks Clarendon will bring himself with great reluctance to sign such a Treaty ; but he must swallow the pill, however bitter. The bitterness proceeds from having had such vast pretensions and having encouraged, if not held, such lofty language.

It is no wonder that this Government want to get their army home when typhus is raging there, and they have by their own account 22,000 men in hospital, while ours is quite healthy. We took all sorts of precautions, and strongly advised the French to do the same, and to adopt a sanitary

plan we imparted to them; they held it cheap, did nothing, and here are the consequences. It is said that while those who have been in the Crimea and have distinguished themselves are eager for peace, those who have not yet earned medals are averse to peace, and that there will be a good deal of jealousy between the regiments.

*March 6th.*—We talked yesterday morning about the origin of the Austrian proposals, and Cowley said he had never been able exactly to make out whether the scheme had originated at Vienna or here, but he was inclined to believe that the first hint was given by Austria, and that Walewski then put the thing on paper, which was sent to Vienna and returned thence in the shape of a proposal. Bourqueney first brought it from Vienna, Buol having obtained his Emperor's consent to it. Cowley told me Buol had been all along willing to join us in the war, but the Emperor never would consent to it. Cowley's notions are that we never ought to have listened to any intervention, nor to any proposals for peace but from Russia herself, that we should have made her sue for peace. He would have had our demands from the first stated distinctly, and have allowed of nothing but acceptance or refusal; he would never have agreed to the article for the cession of Bessarabia, nor have asked for territory at all. If it could have been managed he would have preferred giving the Principalities to Austria, who should for them give up Lombardy to Sardinia. Not a bad idea. By the bye, it is much noticed that in the Emperor's Speech he calls the King of Sardinia the King of Piedmont, probably without any particular meaning or intention, but they say he never does anything without a meaning. I rode to the new racecourse yesterday, near the Bois de Boulogne, and went to the opera last night to see a beautiful new ballet, 'Le Corsaire.' Went to Passy to see the Delesserts, who were out.

In this headquarter of gossip every trifle makes a noise, a little scene in society excites interest and shows the continued violence of party feeling. A party dined at Lord Holland's

and more came in the evening, mostly, as it happened, Orleanists, for the Hollands live with all parties indiscriminately. There were Mesdames de Rémusat, d'Haussonville, and several others of that colour, when the door opened and MM. de Flahault and Morny were announced, on which the women all jumped up like a covey of partridges and walked out of the room, without taking any notice of the men. It is said that the Orleanist party entertain a peculiar rancour against M. de Flahault for having witnessed the arrest of General Changarnier on the 2nd of December, but this is now strenuously denied.

*At night.*—Just before dinner came an invitation to go to the Tuileries to-night, which with much reluctance I was forced to do. Two *petites pièces* as on Sunday. I did not attempt to get into the gallery, and sat in the next room, first with Brunnow, then with the Grand Vizier, who is become a great friend of mine. The Emperor did nothing but take off one Plenipotentiary after another : first Clarendon, next Buol, then Orloff, and lastly Walewski, and probably more was done there than at the Conference in the morning. Brunnow and Walewski both told me the affair was progressing, and Cowley seemed very low coming home. His dejection is extreme, and he said this morning that he could not recover from his extreme disappointment at the conduct of the Emperor, that he had always had a bad opinion of Walewski, and no reliance on him or any of the ministers, but he would have staked his life on the Emperor's remaining true to us, that he had always assured our Government that they might depend implicitly on him, and it was a bitter mortification to him to have been deceived himself and to deceive them. I asked him how Clarendon felt all this, and he said Clarendon had never spoken to him about it, and preserved a calmness which astonished him. ‘What,’ I asked, ‘did the Cabinet at home say?’ He said, ‘They seemed to place entire confidence in Clarendon, and to leave all power and responsibility to him.’

*March 8th.*—Called on M. de Greffuhle yesterday, whom I had not seen for years. He is eighty, enormously rich, full of

activity and intelligence, Orleanist by social habits, but well affected towards this Government and not hostile to the Emperor, though despising his Government. He said that he was compelled to make peace, and that it would cost him his Crown if he did not ; that something would happen and then he would be upset, so great would be the consequences of his running counter to the universal desire for peace here ; that the finances are in a very difficult state and there must be another loan, but it would not be contracted like the last, which was a picce of absurd *charlatanerie*.

I went in the afternoon to see the Imperial stables, a wonderful establishment ; and then the stallions, near Passy. In the evening to Madame Baudon's, where I was presented to General Cavaignac, but had no conversation with him. He is a tall, gentlemanlike man with a very military air. I was surprised to see him there in the midst of the Legitimists, he, a republican, but it seems he was once near marrying Madame Baudon, who was *sous-gouvernante des Enfants de France* when Madame de Gontaut was *Gouvernante*.

*March 9th.*—Went about visiting as usual. Called on Achille Fould, who introduced me to Magne, Minister of Finance, said to be a great rogue. Everything here is intrigue and jobbery, and I am told there is a sort of gang, of which Morny is the chief, who all combine for their own purpose and advantage : Morny, Fould, Magne, and Rouher, Minister of Commerce. They now want to get out Billault, Minister of the Interior, whom they cannot entirely manage, and that ministry is necessary to them on account of the railroads, which are under his management. Fould was full of civilities and offers of services, and he told me the Emperor has a mind to talk to me ; whether anything will come of it I know not. I went thence to Madame de Galliera's, where I met Thiers and made a *rendez-vous* with him for to-day ; then to Madame de Lieven who had had Orloff with her ; lastly to Madame de Girardin and renewed our old acquaintance, dined with Delmar, and came home to a great party here.

*March 10th.*—I called on Thiers yesterday, and had a long talk with him ; he declared he was happier unemployed and quite free than he had ever been ; he had been all for the war, and was now as much for peace—like every other Frenchman he considered it a necessity ; anxious as ever for the English alliance, and ridiculed the idea that we had not accomplished everything that our honour and glory required ; bitter against this Government, and maintained that the Emperor might very safely relax the severity of it without giving up anything ; indignant with the peculation and corruption that prevailed, and the abominable acts of injustice committed, one of which he mentioned towards his own family. Very pleasant as usual.

The news of the day was the dangerous illness of King Jerome, whose life hangs on a thread. This morning I went to St. Germain to see a stag hunt in the forest—a curious sight, with the old-fashioned *meute* ; the officers, and those privileged to wear the uniform, in embroidered coats, jackboots, and cocked hats ; piqueurs on horseback and foot with vast horns wound round their bodies ; the costume and the sport exactly as in the time of Louis XIV., rather tiresome after a time. The old château is a melancholy *dilapidé* building, sad as the finishing career of its last Royal inhabitant. These recollections come thick upon one—Anne of Austria and the Fronde, Louis XIV. and Mademoiselle de la Vallière—for here their lives began. When the Queen was here she insisted on being taken up to see Mademoiselle de la Vallière's apartment, to mark which some slight ornaments remain. Here too James II. held his dismal Court and came to his unhappy and bigoted end. After it ceased to be a palace, it became successively a prison, a school, and a barrack, and now the Emperor has a fancy to restore it. I went at night to a great concert at Walewski's, where I fell in with Clarendon, and found he was quite prepared to make peace even on such terms as he can get, in which I encouraged him, and to my surprise he said he did not think it would be a bad peace, though it was not so good as we might have got if the generals had done all they

might, or if we had had another campaign. He asked me how I thought people would look on it in England, and I told him from all I heard I thought *now* the wish was for peace, and that the peace would be well enough taken. This he now thinks himself, and he said peace would certainly be concluded before the end of the month.

*March 15th.*—From Cowley's account the Conferences appear to be drawing to an end, as a committee has been formed to draw up the Treaty. It consists of Cowley, Bourqueney, Brunnow, Cavour, Buol, and the Grand Vizier. Cowley is still bemoaning the insufficiency of the terms, and while he admits the necessity of peace here, maintains that if the Emperor would only have joined us in insisting upon the terms we wished to impose, it is certain the Russians would have consented to everything, for he says they now know from unquestionable information that the Russians expected much harder terms. The Emperor was, however, so beset by his *entourage*, and so afraid of running the slightest risk of the Russians breaking off the negotiations, that he would not insist on anything which he was not certain the Russians would agree to, and Cowley says he thinks Clarendon was not so firm as he might have been, and if he had pressed the Emperor more strongly, that the latter would have yielded and told Orloff that though anxious to make peace, he was still more anxious to continue on good terms with us, and that if the Russian Government wanted peace, they would only have it on such and such terms. All this may be true, and I am myself inclined to think the Russians would have agreed to our terms, if those terms had been heartily backed up by the Emperor; but except to give something more of a triumph to the English public, I am not of opinion that the difference between what we required and what we shall get is worth much. When the *dénouement* is before the world, it will appear how insane it was to plunge into such a war, and that the confusion and unsettled state of affairs which will be the result of it are more dangerous to the stability of the Turkish Empire than the ambitious

designs of Russia ever were. Whether the Emperor Nicholas was premature or not in his idea of ‘the sick man,’ it will soon appear how sick the man will be left by the doctors who have stepped in to save him, and I believe the *bouleversement* of the old Turkish dominion will have been greatly accelerated by the war and the consequences which will flow from the successes of the Allies.

What Cowley particularly laments over is having failed to dismantle Nicolaieff and to stop the outlet from the Bug to the Black Sea, and having got no satisfactory arrangement with regard to the Circassian coast and the contiguous provinces which were ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Adrianople. We wanted that Russia should acknowledge the independence of these provinces or of some part of them ; but I cannot see of what use this would have been, and it would have been a matter of the greatest difficulty how to secure their independence and under what Government. There is a sort of sympathy with the Circassians in England, which would have made some stipulations with regard to them popular ; but the independence would be illusory, Russia would soon reassert her authority, and our stipulations would become a dead letter, or we should be involved in endless disputes without any satisfactory results. As to forming another coalition for the sake of semi-barbarous nationalities on the coasts of the Caspian, nothing would be more impossible. England herself, who will soon recover from her madness, would not hear of it, and France still less. The war was founded in delusion and error, and carried on by a factitious and ignorant enthusiasm, and we richly deserve to reap nothing but mortification and disappointment in return for all the blood and treasure we have spent.

*March 16th.*—We passed the day in momentary expectation of hearing of the Empress’s confinement. No news arrived, but at six in the morning we were awakened from our beds by the sound of the cannon of the Invalides, which gave notice of a son. Will his fortune be more prosperous than that of the other Royal and Imperial heirs to the throne whom similar

salvoes have proclaimed? It is a remarkable coincidence that the confinement was as difficult and dangerous as that of Marie Louise, with the same symptoms and circumstances, and that the doctor accoucheur (Dubois) in this instance was the son of the Dubois who attended the other Empress. From all I hear the event was received here with good will, but without the least enthusiasm, though with some curiosity, and the Tuileries Gardens were crowded. People were invited by the police to illuminate.

## CHAPTER XII.

Lord Clarendon's favourable View of the Peace—General Evans' Proposal to Embark after the Battle of Inkerman—Sir E. Lyons defends Lord Raglan—Peace concluded—Sir J. Graham's gloomy View of Affairs—Edward Ellice's Plan—Favourable Reception of the Peace—A Lull in Politics—A Sabbatarian Question—The Trial of Palmer for Murder—Defeat of the Opposition—Danger of War with the United States—Ristori as an Actress—Defeat of the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill—Return of the Guards—Baron Parke on the Life Peerage—Close of the Session—O'Donnell and Espartero in Spain—Chances of War—Coronation of the Czar—Apathy of the Nation—Expense of the Coronation at Moscow—Interference at Naples—Foreign Relations—Progress of Democracy in England—Russia, France, England, and Naples—Russian Intrigues with France—The Bolgrad Question—The Quarrel with Naples—The Formation of Lord Palmerston's Government in 1855—Death of Sir John Jervis—Sir Alexander Cockburn's Appointment—James Wortley Solicitor-General—Conference on the Treaty of Paris—Low Church Bishops—Leadership of the Opposition—Coolness in Paris—Dictatorial Policy to Brazil.

*London, March 21st, Good Friday.*—I left Paris on Wednesday morning with Mr. and Mrs. Reeve, dined at Boulogne, crossed over in the evening, and arrived in London yesterday morning at eleven o'clock. When near Folkestone we were caught in a fog, lost our way, and were very near having to anchor and pass the night at sea. After a vast deal of whistling and bellowing, stopping and going on, the fog cleared a little, lights became visible, and we entered the harbour with no other inconvenience than having made a long *détour*, and being an hour later than our proper time. I regretted leaving Paris, where I was treated with so much affection and hospitality, and on the whole very well amused. On Monday, I dined with the Duchesse de Mouchy; on Tuesday night Clarendon came after

dinner to see me before my departure, and we had some talk about the peace and the terms. He spoke very cheerfully about it, and seems not at all dissatisfied, nor to feel any alarm about its reception. As it is, without at all acknowledging that he has made any sacrifices, he considers that the influence he has acquired for England, particularly with Austria and Turkey, is far more valuable than any items of concession from Russia would have been. Buol told him that he was now quite convinced that England was the Power to which Austria must really look with confidence and reliance on her honour and friendship, and the Turk was still more warm and vehement in assurances of the same kind. This was elicited from the Austrians by the fact of England having supported the condition of the Bessarabian cession, while France took part with Russia and threw Austria over. Moreover, Clarendon does not, like Cowley, complain of the Emperor Napoleon, but speaks with great satisfaction of His Majesty's conduct to him, and the renewed cordiality with which he has recently expressed himself towards England, and for the maintenance of his alliance with us. In short, he evidently thinks, and not without reason, that he will return, having obtained a sufficiently good peace, and having placed England in a very fine position. He said that he had been able to accomplish his task by being ready to incur responsibility at home, and by being able to act unfettered, and taking on himself to disregard any instructions or recommendations from home that he did not approve of. Yesterday I saw George Lewis and had a talk with him and his wife about Clarendon and the peace. He said he thought the peace quite sufficient, and he did not understand what it was Cowley found fault with, nor why he is dissatisfied. He denies that we have given up anything that it would have been just and reasonable to stand out upon, and will not hear of taking an apologetic tone, but that Clarendon should defend the peace on its own merits. He thinks it will be well enough received in the House of Commons and by the country, and he is in good spirits about the Government. He says Palmerston has been moderate and reasonable, and that he is

not aware of Clarendon's having been harassed with any instructions, but left entirely to his own discretion. They all think he has done exceedingly well.

*March 29th.*—I went to Hatchford on Saturday last ; on Wednesday to Althorp. I met Sir Edmund Lyons at Hatchford, who talked incessantly about the incidents of the war and the conduct of the people concerned in it, and very interesting his talk was, for besides having been one of the most conspicuous and important actors in it, he was completely in the confidence of the Commanders-in-Chief, and consulted by them on every occasion and with regard to all operations. He told us what had passed between Evans and Raglan and between Evans and himself on a most important occasion, to this effect : Evans went to Raglan immediately after the battle of Inkermann, and proposed to him to embark the army immediately, leaving their guns, and (Lyons says he is almost certain) their sick and wounded to the enemy. Raglan said, ‘But you forget the French : would you have us abandon them to their fate?’ He replied, ‘You are Commander-in-Chief of the *English* army, and it is your business to provide for *its* safety. . . .’ Raglan would not hear of the proposal. Almost immediately after Evans met Sir Edmund Lyons and told him what had passed with Raglan, and urged him to suggest the same course. Lyons made the same observation about the French that Raglan had done, and said one or two things would happen : either the French would take Sebastopol alone, when we should be covered with shame and dishonour ; or they would fail and probably suffer some great disaster. The expression of ‘perfidie Albion’ had long been current in France, and then indeed it would be well deserved and would become a perpetual term of reproach against us. These rebuffs did not prevent Evans going on board ship and there giving out that the army would in a few days be obliged to embark, and Captain Dacres came to Lyons and told him he heard this was going to happen. Lyons asked him where he had heard this, and he said Evans had announced it, and talked of it unre-

servedly as certain to happen. Lyons said, 'It is false ; the army will not go away, and Sebastopol will be taken. It is very mischievous that such reports should circulate, and I order you not to allow such a thing to be said by anybody on board your ship, and to contradict it in the most positive manner.'

Everything that Lyons said, and it may be added all one hears in every way, tends to the honour and the credit of Raglan, and I am glad to record this because I have always had an impression that much of the difficulty and distress of the army in 1854 was owing to his want of energy and management. He was not a Wellington certainly, and probably he might have done more and better than he did, but he was unquestionably, on the whole, the first man in the army, and if he had not been continually thwarted by the French, would have done more. While many here were crying out for placing our army under the command of French generals, and recalling Raglan (and I must confess I had myself a considerable leaning that way), he was struggling against the shortcomings or the inactivity of Canrobert and Pélissier. Canrobert acknowledged that he had not nerve sufficient for the duties of his station, and he never could be got to agree to adopt the bold offensive movements which Raglan was continually urging upon him, especially after the battle of Inkerman, when Raglan entreated him to follow up the discomfited Russians, his whole army being ready and not above 1,500 of them having been engaged. With Pélissier, Raglan had very little to do, for his death occurred soon after Pélissier took the command.

Lyons gave us an interesting account of Raglan's last illness. He seemed to have no idea that he was in serious danger, nor had the people about him. At last, when he was so rapidly sinking that the doctors saw his end was approaching, and it was deemed necessary to apprise him thereof, he would not believe it, and he insisted to his aide-de-camp who told him of his state that he was better, and he fell into a state of insensibility without ever having been conscious of his dying condition. One of the best authenticated charges against

Raglan was that of his not showing himself to his soldiers, and it was said many believed that he had quitted the camp; at last this idea became so prevalent that his own staff felt the necessity of something being said to him about it, but none dared, for it seems they were all exceedingly afraid of him. At last they asked Lyons if he would speak to him and tell him what was said. Lyons said he had no scruple or difficulty in so doing, and told him plainly the truth. Raglan not only took it in good part, but thanked him very much, and said his reason for not riding round all the divisions was that he could not prevent the soldiers turning out to salute him, and he could not bear to see this ceremony done by the men who had been all night in the trenches or otherwise exposed to fatigue, and that this was the sole reason why he had abstained, but henceforward he would make a point of riding round every day, and so he ever after did; so that the main fact as reported by 'correspondents' was not devoid of truth. I wish I could recollect all the various anecdotes Lyons told us, but I neglected to put them down at the time, and now they have faded from my memory. He discussed the qualities of the English generals with reference to the command of the army after Raglan's death. He never had well understood why it was that Colin Campbell was always considered out of the question, and his own opinion seemed to be that he was the fittest man. The French thought so, and one of the alleged reasons against him, viz. that he could not speak French, was certainly not true. Simpson was very reluctant to take the command at first, and wrote home to say so, but after he had received certain flattering encouragements his opposition waxed fainter, and by the time it was taken from him he became anxious to retain it. Raglan was not at all annoyed at Simpson's being sent there, and did what he pleased with him. Simpson never attempted to interfere with him or to control him in any way, but on the contrary was entirely subservient to Raglan.

*April 1st.*—News of peace reached London on Sunday evening, and was received joyfully by the populace, not from

any desire to see an end of the war, but merely because it is a great event to make a noise about. The newspapers have been reasonable enough, except the 'Sun,' which appeared in deep mourning, and with a violent tirade against peace.

*April 3rd.*—Yesterday I met Graham at the Council Office, where he had come to attend a committee. Since the formation of Aberdeen's Government three years ago I have hardly ever seen him; and have never had any conversation with him. Yesterday he sat down and began talking over the state of affairs generally, and the prospects of the country, which he considers very gloomy and full of danger, more particularly from the outrageous license of the press, which has now arrived at a pitch perfectly intolerable, but which it is impossible to check or control. Then the total destruction of parties and of party ties and connexions, to say nothing of the antipathies and disagreements of such public men as these are. He says there is not one man in the House of Commons who has ten followers, neither Gladstone, nor Disraeli, nor Palmerston. The Government goes on because there is no organised opposition prepared and able to take its place, and the Government receives a sufficiency of independent support, because all feel that the business of the country must be carried on, and hitherto Palmerston has been supported as a War Minister, and the best man to carry on the war; but Graham is very doubtful what will happen when the discussions on the peace and all matters relating to the war are over, and other questions (principally of domestic policy) come into play. Palmerston, always sanguine, fancies he can stand, but it is very doubtful, for he is not backed by a party constituting a majority; the Treasury Bench is very weak, and Palmerston himself a poor and inefficient conductor of the Government in the House. John Russell has taken up the question of education, which he hopes to render popular, and through it means again to recover his former influence and authority. He said that John Russell is (in spite of all that happened last year) more looked up to by the Whig party than Palmerston, and that they would

rather have him for their leader, as, notwithstanding the faults he has committed, he is by far the ablest man, has a much greater grasp of intellect, more foresight, and is much more of a statesman, and has more fixed principles. Palmerston (Graham thinks) has a passionate love of office and power, and will cling to it with tenacity to the last, and never resign it but on compulsion, not caring with whom he acts, nor on what principles. This, I think, is partly true and partly false. I do not think he cares whom he acts with, but I do not believe he is quite indifferent as to the principles. He says Lewis has done well, and is liked in the House of Commons, and Gladstone likes him and gives him a cordial support; that Baines is a good man, and those two are the most respected and considered of all the men on the Treasury Bench, the House accepting their sterling qualities in place of greater brilliancy such as Gladstone can command; that Gladstone is certainly the ablest man there, though it is still doubtful whether his talents are equal to such an emergency as the present, to master public opinion, enlist it on his side, and to administer the Government on certain principles of administrative reform which Graham himself considers necessary. His religious opinions, in which he is zealous and sincere, enter so largely into his political conduct as to form a very serious obstacle to his success, for they are abhorrent to the majority of this Protestant country, and (I was rather surprised to hear him say) Graham thinks approach very nearly to Rome. Gladstone would have nothing to do with any Government unless he were leader in the House of Commons, and when that Government is formed, there should be previously a clear and distinct understanding on what principles it was founded and what their course of action should be. His tone is now that of disclaiming party connexions, and being ready to join with any men who are able and willing to combine in carrying out such measures as are indispensably necessary for the good government of the country, such a system as he briefly shadowed out in his speech at the Mansion House the other day. Graham's

idea is, that in the event of this Government breaking down, the best chance of another being formed would be by Clarendon undertaking it, whom on the whole he regards as the man best fitted by his experience and ability to be at the head of affairs; that he and Gladstone might be brought together, but would Lord John consent to go to the Lords, and to serve under Clarendon as President of the Council and Head of the Education Department? This opens questions full of doubt and difficulty. Derby, he thinks, has no desire to form another Government, and would prefer to go on as he is now, leader of a large party of Peers who are willing to follow him and to make the House of Lords one of the scenes and instruments of his amusements as usual, provided it supplies him with occupation and excitement, indifferent to the consequences and to the mischief he may do. Disraeli appears to be endeavouring to approach Gladstone, and a confederacy between those two and young Stanley by no means an improbability. What Stanley is disposed to do and capable of doing is still an enigma, and although his speeches are not devoid of matter, they are without a particle of the spirit and stirring eloquence of his father.

The change which has taken place in the country presents to Graham a most alarming prospect. Hitherto it has been governed by parties, and patronage has been the great instrument of keeping parties together; whereas Sir Robert Peel has destroyed party, which had now entirely ceased to exist; and between the press, the public opinion which the press had made, and the views of certain people in Parliament, of whom Gladstone is the most eminent and strenuous, patronage was either destroyed or going rapidly to destruction. The only hope of escaping from great perils was in that broad stratum of good sense and firmness which still existed in the country, and of which manifestations had been recently given. He admires the resolute and unflinching spirit with which the war had been entered into, carried on, and the country was quite willing to persist in; and not less the sensible and reasonable manner in

which the peace, by which they were mortified and disappointed, had been acquiesced in, for he says that it is beyond all question that there is throughout the country a strong feeling of mortification and regret that we have not played a more brilliant part, and that our share of glory has been less than that of our ally, and there would have been a general feeling of exultation and satisfaction if we had fought another campaign in order to end the war with greater *éclat*. But this sentiment has been sufficiently mastered by prudent considerations and a just appreciation of the circumstances of Europe generally, and of our relations with other Powers, to check all ebullitions of mortified pride, and to induce a prudent reserve and acquiesce in the management of the Government, and in a spirit like this there appears some hope for the future. We had a very long talk about these and other matters, the substance of which I record as it recurs to my mind.

A day or two before I met Ellice at Hillingdon, where we interchanged our thoughts, and a good deal that he said was much in Graham's sense : that this Government could not stand but by being remodelled, and his notion is that half of it should be got rid of, the Peelites taken in, and Lord John to go to the House of Lords as President of the Council, Granville taking Cowley's place as ambassador at Paris, and Cowley replacing Stratford Canning at Constantinople. *À propos* of Stratford Canning, Graham thinks the Opposition will attack the Government and not the ambassador on the case of Kars, and that it is not impossible they may carry a vote of censure against them, which I told him I did not believe was possible, or that they could be able to carry any resolution affecting the Government so much as to compel their resignation, and I suggested to him how fatal this would be to his scheme of reorganising a Government under Clarendon, as such censure would more especially touch him, and this would make it impossible for the Queen to entrust the formation of another Government to his hands.

*April 7th.*—Since my conversation with Graham, I have learnt from the Duke of Bedford that Lord John is not very

much disinclined to go to the House of Lords, particularly as his position in reference to his seat for the City is so embarrassing. The Dissenters, always unreasonable and ungrateful, will not forgive his speech upon Church Rates the other night, and his general popularity is gone. Then it is probably a consideration with him to secure to his family the settlement his brother will make on him if he takes the peerage.

*London, May 4th.*—For nearly a month I have let this journal fall into arrear, during which period the most interesting occurrences have been the return of Clarendon, the publication of the conditions of peace with the accompanying protocols, and the debate upon Kars. With regard to the peace, Clarendon comes very well out of his mission, and no fault is found with the peace. The Kars debate was a great error on the part of the Opposition, and ended with a great triumph for the Government. Just before it, Palmerston called a meeting of his supporters, where he harangued them with great success, and managed to rally them round him with more of zeal and cordiality than they have hitherto shown. His position is certainly improved, and according to present appearances he will get through the session without much difficulty. All agree that he has been doing well in the House of Commons; his assiduity, his punctual attendance, and his popular manners make him agreeable to the House, and he has exhibited greater facility and resource in dealing with all sorts of miscellaneous subjects than anybody gave him credit for. There is not the smallest danger of the peace proving dangerous to him, and it is evident that the House of Commons, however independent and undisciplined it may be, will not allow him to be placed in any danger, and is determined not to have any change of Government at present. The Peelites and John Russell supported him and had nothing else to do, for they are neither of them in a condition to attempt to play a game of their own.

*May 14th.*—Every day my disinclination to continue this work (which is neither a journal nor anything else) increases, but I have at the same time a reluctance to discontinue entirely

an occupation which has engaged me for forty years, and in which I may still find from time to time something to record which may hereafter be deemed worth reading, and so at long intervals, and for short periods, I resume my reluctant pen.

We are now in the Whitsuntide holidays, in a profound political and parliamentary calm, the Government perfectly secure, Palmerston very popular, the Opposition disheartened and disunited, and having managed their matters as awkwardly and stupidly as possible, attacking the Government on questions and points on which the assailants were sure to be beaten, and strengthening instead of weakening it by their abortive attempts. There was great difference of opinion amongst them about fighting battles, on Kars, and on the peace ; Lyndhurst and Derby were against, Disraeli was for. Roebuck, whom I fell in with on Sunday in a railway train, told me that if they had laid hold of the one point of the protocol in the Belgian press, and worked this well, they might have put the Government in a minority, but they missed this obvious opportunity.<sup>1</sup> I called on Lyndhurst yesterday, who said they had unaccountably overlooked this plausible topic. He is going to make a speech on Italy when Parliament meets, and we agreed entirely that either too much or too little was done at Paris on this question, and that either it ought not to have been entertained and discussed at all, or some more decided measures ought to have been adopted with regard to it. To stir up such delicate questions, and leave them in their present unhappy condition, is an egregious error.

The questions of war and of peace having now ceased to interest and excite the public mind, a religious question has sprung up to take their place for the moment, which though not at present of much importance, will in all probability lead to

<sup>1</sup> [An attempt had been made at the Congress of Paris by Count Walewski to bring forward some measure or resolution reflecting on the independence of the press in Belgium. It led to nothing, but Lord Clarendon was accused of not having protested against it with sufficient energy.]

more serious consequences hereafter. Sir Benjamin Hall having bethought himself of providing innocent amusement for the Londoners on Sunday, established a Sunday playing of military bands in Kensington Gardens and in the other parks and gardens about the metropolis, which has been carried on, with the sanction of the Government, with great success for several Sundays. Some murmurs were heard from the puritanical and Sabbatarian party, but Palmerston having declared himself favourable to the practice in the House of Commons, the opposition appeared to cease. The puritans, however, continued to agitate against it in meetings and in the press, though the best part of the latter was favourable to the bands, and at last, when a motion in Parliament was threatened to insist on the discontinuance of the music, the Cabinet thought it necessary to reconsider the subject. They were informed that if the Government resisted the motion they would be beaten, and moreover that no man could support them in opposition to it without great danger of losing his seat at the next election. It is stated that the Sabbatarians are so united and numerous, and their organisation so complete, that all over the country they would be able to influence and probably carry any election, and that this influence would be brought to bear against every man who maintained by his vote this 'desecration of the Sabbath.' Accordingly it was resolved by the Cabinet to give way, and the only question was how to do so with anything like consistency and dignity. The Archbishop of Canterbury was made the 'Deus ex machinâ' to effect this object. He was made to write a letter to the Premier representing the feelings of the people and begging the bands might be silenced. To this Palmerston wrote a reply in which he repeated his own opinion in favour of the music, but that in deference to the public sentiment he would put an end to their playing. All this has excited a good deal of interest and discussion. For the present, the only question is whether the angry public will not vent its indignation and resentment to-morrow in acts of uproar and violence ; but though these acts will not be serious or lasting if

they do take place, it may be expected that the Sabbatarians will not rest satisfied with their triumph, but will endeavour to make fresh encroachments on our free will and our habits and pursuits, and that fresh and more serious contests will arise out of this beginning.

*May 28th (day of the Derby).*—Yesterday on Epsom race-course arrived the news of Palmer's being found guilty of the murder of Cook. This case and the trial have excited an interest almost unprecedented, unlike anything since the case of Thurtell about twenty years ago or more. People who never heard of either of the men took the deepest interest in it, the women particularly, though there was nothing peculiar in it or of a nature to excite them particularly. The trial lasted a fortnight, all the details of it were read with the greatest avidity, half the town went one day or other to hear it, and the anxiety that the man should be convicted was passionate. Cockburn gained great applause by the manner in which he conducted the prosecution.

This trial has proved more attractive and interesting than anything in the political world, though there has been a pitched battle in the Lords on the question of Maritime Law and Right of Search given up in the recent Treaty. Derby made a violent onslaught on the Government, and was at first very confident of a majority. He soon found these hopes were fallacious, when he got angry and was more violent than he has ever been before this session. The Government got a majority of above fifty, which puts an end to any further contest there. The Government have now nothing to fear, the Opposition are routed and dispirited, and one can see nothing to alter the present state of affairs. The minor questions which have occupied attention are settling quietly. The Chelsea Commission is over, and the result will be harmless, on the whole rather good than bad, because it will prove that the violent attacks on the military authorities during the war have been exaggerated and in many cases unfounded. A sort of compromise has been made about the Wensleydale peerage, not a very happy one, and it

remains to be seen whether the House of Commons is sufficiently acquiescent as to sanction it by agreeing to the 12,000*l.* a year to be paid to two new judges and peers for life. The Government have virtually abandoned the principle they contended for, and have yielded to the adverse vote and Committee. When they appeal to Parliament and limit the number of life peerages, they abandon the prerogative of the Crown.

*June 1st.*—The state of affairs with America becomes more and more alarming.<sup>1</sup> Grey told me the other night that he had had a long conversation with Dallas, whose tone was anything but reassuring as to the prospect of peace; and yesterday I met Thackeray, who is just returned from the United States. He thinks there is every probability of the quarrel leading to war, for there is a very hostile spirit, constantly increasing, throughout the States, and an evident desire to quarrel with us. He says he has never met with a single man who is not persuaded that they are entirely in the right and we in the wrong, and they are equally persuaded if war ensues that they will give us a great thrashing; they don't care for the consequences, their riches are immense, and 200,000 men would appear in arms at a moment's notice. Here, however, though there is a great deal of anxiety, there is still a very general belief that war cannot take place on grounds so trifling between two countries which have so great and so equal an interest in remaining at peace with each other. But in a country where the statesmen, if there are any, have so little influence, and where the national policy is subject to the passions and caprices of an ignorant and unreasoning mob, there is no security that good sense and

<sup>1</sup> [In consequence of the dispute with the American Government on the subject of Foreign Enlistment, Mr. Crampton, the British Minister, was ordered to leave Washington on May 28th. He arrived in England on June 15th; but Lord Palmerston stated in the House of Commons that the dismissal of Mr. Crampton did not break off diplomatic relations with the United States, as Mr. Dallas remained in this country. It is remarkable that within a few months or even weeks two British Ministers received their passports from foreign governments and were sent away—a very uncommon occurrence!]

moderation will prevail. Many imagine that matters will proceed to the length of a diplomatic rupture, that Crampton will be sent away and Dallas retire in consequence, and that then by degrees the present heat will cool down, and matters be amicably arranged without a shot being fired. I feel no such confidence, for if diplomatic intercourse ceases numerous causes of complaint will arise, and as there will be no means left for mutual and friendly explanation and adjustment, such causes will be constantly exaggerated and inflamed into an irreconcileable quarrel. Matters cannot long go on as they now are without the public here becoming excited and angry, and the press on both sides insolent, violent, and provoking, and at last, going on from one step to another, we shall find ourselves drifted into this odious and on both parts suicidal contest, for there is not a blow we can strike at America and her interests that will not recoil on us and our own. It has often been remarked that civil wars are of all wars the most furious, and a war between America and England would have all the characteristics of a civil and an international contest ; nor, though I have no doubt that America is in the wrong, can I persuade myself that we are entirely in the right on either of the principal points in dispute. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that the Russian war is over, for if it had gone on and all our ships had been in the Baltic, and all our soldiers in the Crimea, nothing would have prevented the Americans from seizing the opportunity of our hands being full to bring their dispute with us to a crisis.

*June 7th.*—I went last night to see the celebrated Ristori in a very bad play called ‘*Medea*,’ being a translation into Italian from a French tragedy by a M. Legouvé. This play was written for Madaine Rachel, who refused to act the part, which refusal led to a lawsuit, in which the actress was (I think) defeated. Ristori is certainly a fine actress, but she did not appear to me equal to Pasta in the same part, or to other great actresses I have seen. However, my inability to hear well and want of familiarity with Italian acting and imperfect know-

ledge of the language disqualify me from being a competent judge.

The American horizon is rather less dark. Nothing is yet known as to Crampston's dismissal, and Dallas does not believe it. The Danish Minister at Washington writes over here that he thinks the clouds will disperse and there will be no serious quarrel.

*London, July 12th.*—After the lapse of a month and more, during which I could not bring myself to record anything, or to comment upon passing events, I am at last roused from my apathy, and am induced to take up my pen and say a word upon the defeat of the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill in the House of Commons the other night, which gave me the greatest satisfaction, because I regard it as a just punishment for the stupid obstinacy with which the Government have blundered on from one fault to another throughout this whole business. It has been a complete comedy of errors, and every one who has taken a part in it has been in the wrong. I told Granville how it would be in the first instance, and urged him, after the House of Lords had refused to let in Parke as a life peer, to accept the defeat quietly by making him an hereditary peer and thus give the go-by to the main question. This nothing would induce them to do, and they fancied that they could avoid the mortification of appearing to knock under, and save their own consistency by the contrivance of this bill. Every mischief that it was possible to do they have managed to accomplish, and the leaders of the opposite parties, who all felt themselves in a scrape, came to a sort of compromise in the Lords' Committee, the result of which was this unpopular bill. Amongst them they have assailed the prerogative of the Crown, they have damaged the judicial authority of the House of Lords, they have deeply offended many of their own friends by tendering to them such a measure, and they have behaved most unkindly and unhandsomely to Baron Parke, who thinks he has great reason to complain.

I have been at Knowsley for the last three days, and so

missed the march of the Guards into London on Wednesday. Lord Hardinge was struck down by paralysis as he was speaking to the Queen at Aldershot on Tuesday last. It is supposed that the Duke of Cambridge will succeed him, and that Jim Macdonald will be his Military Secretary. The American question is still undecided, but everybody appears to be very easy about it.

*July 20th.*—I met Baron Parke the other day, who talked over his affair, complained of the treatment he had received from the Government, but said he gathered from what the Chancellor had said to him that they meant now to make him an hereditary peer, declared there was not a shadow of doubt about the legality, and that Campbell had as little doubt as he himself had, but finding the measure was unpopular with certain lawyers, he had suddenly turned against his own recorded opinion and opposed it. The Baron said the Government were greatly to blame for not having ventilated the question, and ascertained whether they could carry it or not, and if he had had an idea of all the bother it had made, he never would have had anything to do with it. George Lewis told me that the life peerage had never been brought before the Cabinet, and he knew nothing of it till he saw it in the Gazette, nor did Clarendon ; in fact it was confined to the Chancellor, Granville, and Palmerston. They none of them, however, know with whom it originated. Now that the measure turns out to be so unpopular and is so scouted, and the transaction has been attended with so many blunders and defeats, no one is willing to accept the responsibility of it, or to acknowledge having had anything to do with it. It is strange that Palmerston should ever have consented to it, but he knew nothing and cared nothing about it ; he was probably assured it would go down without any difficulty, and in this *poco curante* way he suffered himself to be committed to it, not seeing the storm it would cause. He allowed Granville to manage it all his own way, and at last he had the good luck to be beaten upon it in the House of Commons, for the scrape would have been more

serious if he had carried it there. These last days of the session have been as usual marked by the withdrawal and abandonment of various bills that were for the most part introduced at the beginning of it, and which were found to be quite worthless, especially the Law Reform Bill.

*London, July 27th.*—Parliament has finished its debates, and will be prorogued on Tuesday. Dizzy wound up by a ‘review of the session,’ a species of entertainment which used to be given annually some years ago by Lord Lyndhurst with great skill and effect, but which on the present occasion, and in Disraeli’s hands, was singularly inopportune and ineffective. Lord Wensleydale has at last taken his seat as an hereditary peer ; the Government, after various abortive attempts to wriggle out of their absurd position, having done at last what they ought to have done at first—knocked under and endured what could not be cured. The Government go into summer and winter quarters in a very healthy and prosperous state, with nothing apparently to apprehend, and with every probability of meeting Parliament next year in the same condition, and, barring accidents, going through next session as successfully as they have gone through this.

*August 4th.*—I was at Goodwood all last week ; the Prince of Prussia came there. Not a word of news ; the Queen still engaged in reviewing the troops, and complimentary fêtes are still going on to Sir W. Williams of Kars, and Charles Wyndham ‘the hero of the Redan.’ The disturbances in Spain seem to be over, and O’Donnell remains victorious. My first impression was (the common one) that Espartero had been ousted by an intrigue, and that it was a reactionary *coup d'état*, but I now hear that it is no such thing, and that we ought to desire the success of the present Government. Espartero and O’Donnell could not agree, as was not unlikely in a coalition Government the two chiefs of which were men of such different opinions and antecedents. After many abortive attempts to reconcile their differences, it was agreed that a Council of Ministers should be held which the Queen herself

should preside over, and when a final attempt should be made. A long discussion took place, and the Queen did all she could to reconcile the two generals, and to enable the Government to go on unchanged. Finding it impossible to effect this, she ended by saying, ‘Well, gentlemen, since I cannot prevail on you to go on together, I must needs choose between you, and as I think Marshal O’Donnell will be the best able to carry on the Government, I appoint him.’ Then the National Guards began an insurrection which was put down, but no violent measures seem to have been adopted, and O’Donnell has declared that Spain can only be successfully governed on constitutional principles, and that he means to retain the Cortes in its integrity. How far his acts will correspond with his professions remains to be seen. Narvaez was recommended to go to France, and Queen Christina appears not to have been allowed to return to Spain, which are good signs. It is a good thing for Spain that Espartero should have retired, for though probably the honestest Spaniard, he is at the same time the weakest and the most wanting in moral courage and decision.

History is full of examples of the slight and accidental causes on which the greatest events turn, and of such examples the last war seems very full. Charles Wyndham told me that nothing but a very thick fog which happened on the morning of Inkerman prevented the English army being swept from their position and totally discomfited. The Russians could see nothing, lost their own way, and mistook the position of the British troops. Had the weather been clear so that they had been able to execute their plans, we could not have resisted them ; a defeat instead of the victory we gained would have changed the destiny of the world, and have produced effects which it is impossible to contemplate or calculate.

On the other hand, nothing but miscalculation and bad management prevented the capture of Sebastopol immediately after Alma. My nephew is just returned from a voyage with Lord Lyons to the Crimea, where he went all over the scenes of the late contest, all the positions, and the ruins

of Sebastopol as well as the northern forts. He was well treated by the Russians, who showed him everything, and talked over the events of the war with great frankness. They told him that if the Allies had marched at once after the battle on the north side, no resistance could have been made, and the other side must have fallen. We had long known that the north side would have fallen if we had attacked it at once. Frank asked the Russian officer whether there was any bad feeling on the part of the Russian army towards the French or English, and he said none whatever, but a great deal towards the Austrians, and that they desired nothing more than an opportunity of fighting them. He also said that they had been misled by our newspapers, from which they obtained all their information, and thinking that the announcements there of an intended invasion of the Crimea were made for the purpose of deceiving them, they had withdrawn a great many troops from the Crimea, so that while Sebastopol had been emptied of the garrison to increase the army of Menschikoff, the Russians had not more than 30,000 or 35,000 men at the Alma.

*Hillingdon, August 17th.*—It is impossible to find anything of the least interest to write about, and my journal is in danger of dying of starvation or of atrophy. The causes of discontent we have had with Russia are disappearing, and the Emperor's coronation will not be clouded by fresh *doléances* on our part. Bulwer is just gone to the Principalities, where the commissioners are to endeavour to ascertain what are the wishes of the people as to the union. France and England are in favour of it, Turkey and Austria against it, while Russia professes to be indifferent and neutral. Spain is settling down into submission to the Government of O'Donnell. Naples is relieved from her fears of English intervention, and there seems some chance that she may relax the vigour of her government now that she may do so *salvo honore* and not under compulsion. This country is profoundly tranquil and generally prosperous ; everybody seems satisfied with Palmerston

and his administration. I myself, who for so many years regarded him politically with the greatest aversion and distrust, have come to think him the best minister we can have, and to wish him well.

*September 15th.*—Another month has passed away, and still I have had nothing to record. The coronation at Moscow appears to have gone off with great *éclat*, and to have been a spectacle of extraordinary magnificence, the prodigious cost of which betrays no sign of exhaustion or impoverishment by the late war.<sup>1</sup> We were probably mistaken, as we were in so many other things, in fancying that the power and resources of Russia were very greatly impaired, but during the war, whatever we wished we were ready to believe.

The state of affairs at home and abroad is curious : abroad there is uneasiness and uncertainty as to the future, the elements of future disturbances being in a sort of abeyance ; at home the fever and excitement which prevailed during the war having been succeeded by a torpor and an apathy such as I never remember to have seen before. All party politics seem to be extinct, the country cares about nobody, desires no changes, and only wishes to go on and prosper. There is not a public man to whom public opinion turns, and no great questions are afloat to agitate and divide the country, or around the standards of which different opinions, principles, or passions can flock. Palmerston may remain minister as long as he lives, if he does not commit any gross faults either of commission or of omission, or unless something may occur, which nobody can foresee or imagine, to rouse the nation from its apathy.

*September 21st.*—The old Crimean correspondent of the ‘Times’ has despatched a very interesting and graphic account of the coronation at Moscow, and Granville writes word that

<sup>1</sup> [The Emperor Alexander II. of Russia was crowned with great pomp in Moscow on September 7 ; the ceremony was attended by special ambassadors from all the great Powers ; Lord Granville, accompanied by Lady Granville and a brilliant suite, was the representative of Great Britain on this occasion.]

whereas he had estimated the cost of it at a million sterling, he was now led to believe it would be not much less than three. The coronation of George IV. cost 240,000*l.*, which was considered an enormous sum and a monstrous extravagance. Our two last coronations cost from 30,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*

The quarrel with the King of Naples appears to be coming to a crisis, and though it will not produce any serious consequences now, the precedent of interference we are establishing may have very important ones at some future time, and though philanthropy may make us rejoice at some coercion being applied to put an end to such a cruel and oppressive government as that of King Bomba (as they call Ferdinand), it may be doubted whether it would not be sounder policy to abstain from interference with what only indirectly and remotely concerns us, and from enforcing a better and more humane system of government in a country where the people do not seem to care much about its tyranny and inhumanity. And then there is the great objection of dictating to and interfering with weak governments while we do not venture to deal in the same way with the equally flagrant abominations of stronger ones, to say nothing of a host of difficulties and objections which suggest themselves as possible, if not probable, results of our interference. It will afford to other Powers an excuse if not a right to interfere in like manner, whenever they require a pretext, and they consider it their interest to do so; and if such cases occur, the peace of the world will be largely endangered. As it is, I strongly suspect (for I know nothing) that the agreement on the Neapolitan question between France and ourselves is by no means cordial and complete. Mrs. Craven writes me word she has been in a house in the country with Walewski, who talked very openly (and no doubt imprudently) to her, telling her that Palmerston was very difficult to go on with. I know not what Palmerston has been doing, nor what his present policy may be, but I thought he had either abandoned or greatly modified that old policy of meddling and bullying to which he used to be so addicted, and at all events that while the foreign policy of

England is directed by Clarendon, we should abstain from anything very arbitrary and violent. It is, however, whispered that Walewski is no longer in the good graces of the Emperor, and what I heard long ago about Her Majesty's opinion of him renders it not unlikely.

*September 23rd.*—All the little I hear tends to confirm the notion that there is an antagonism growing up between French and English policy, and that France and Russia are becoming more and more intimate every day. The points of the Treaty on which there are still some differences, and on which we appear to be making a great fuss, the French seem to care very little about, perhaps being rather disposed to side with Russia. These differences are very inconsiderable in themselves, but if they lead to coolness and estrangement between us and the French, and to an alliance between France and Russia, they may hereafter be very important. Nothing can be more perplexed and unintelligible (at least to those who are not behind the curtain) than the international relations of the Great Powers and of their dispositions towards the smaller ones, and in such a chaos no little tact, discretion, and firmness are required to shape our foreign policy.

*September 25th.*—The void which the march of events fails to fill up cannot be better occupied than by the following extract from Guizot's notice on Sir Robert Peel in the 'Revue des Deux-Mondes' (1856). He is speaking of democracy in England:—'M. de Talleyrand disait dans la Chambre des Pairs, il y a quelqu'un qui a plus d'esprit que Napoléon ou que Voltaire, c'est tout le monde. On peut dire aujourd'hui même à propos de l'Angleterre il y a quelqu'un qui a plus de pouvoir que la couronne, plus de pouvoir que l'aristocratie, c'est tout le monde, et tout le monde c'est la démocratie. Où commence-t-elle? où finit-elle? à quels signes visibles se distingue-t-elle des autres éléments de la société? Personne ne pourrait le dire, mais peu importe: pour être difficile à définir, le fait n'en est ni moins certain, ni moins puissant, les éléments les plus divers entrent dans la composition de la démocratie moderne,

des classes riches et des classes pauvres, des classes savantes et des classes ignorantes, des maîtres et des ouvriers, des conservateurs et des novateurs, des amis du pouvoir et des enthousiastes de liberté, bien des aristocrates mêmes, détachés de leur origine par leurs moeurs, par leur aversion des gênes et des devoirs que l'aristocratie impose. Et la position de la démocratie anglaise n'est pas moins changée que sa composition ; elle ne se borne pas, comme jadis, à défendre au besoin ses libertés, elle regarde les affaires publiques comme les siennes, surveille assidûment ceux qui les font, et si elle ne gouverne pas l'état, elle domine le gouvernement.' All this seems to me perfectly true, and the best definition of the English democracy, its nature, and its position, that could possibly be given, and that the nature of things admits of. Guizot evidently saw clearly a truth which might be elaborated into a very interesting essay, and which has often suggested itself to me, namely, that without any violence or ostensible disturbances or any change in external forms, this country has undergone as great a revolution as France itself, or any of the continental nations which have been torn to pieces by civil discords and contests. If we compare the condition of England at any two not very distant periods, and the manner in which power and influence have been distributed at one and at the other, this will be very apparent, and nobody can doubt that this process is still going on. We are, as Guizot says, 'dans une époque de transition . . . sous l'empire des principes et des sentiments encore confus, perplexes et obscurs, mais essentiellement démocratiques, qui fermentent en Europe depuis quinze siècles et y remportent de nos jours des victoires dont personne ne saurait dire encore quel sera le vrai et dernier résultat.'

*October 3rd.*—There appears to be a general feeling of uneasiness, almost of alarm, as if something was impending to disturb the peace of the world and interrupt the prosperity of nations, though nobody can very well tell what it is they dread. The apprehension is vague, but it is general. The only political question of any consequence in which we are concerned

is that of Naples, and some fancy that the Russian manifesto prognosticates a renewal of the contest with that Empire. I have no such idea, but I am quite unable to comprehend what it is the different Powers are about ; there is a general impression, probably not unfounded, that France and Russia are meditating a close alliance, and if this be the truth it is not likely that Russia should have put forth a State paper offensive to France. It is by no means impossible that Gortschakoff may have ascertained that the declaration of his Emperor's opinion would not be distasteful to the Emperor Napoleon, who probably does not enter *con amore* into this contest with Naples, and merely does it to please us.<sup>1</sup>

When Baudin took leave of him at Paris the other day on his going to Russia, he said to him, 'Is it your Majesty's wish that I should cultivate the most friendly relations with the English Ministers at Moscow and Petersburg?' to which the Emperor replied 'Certainly,' and 'L'Angleterre avant tout.' In this there can be little doubt of his personal sincerity, but probably his personal disposition and the policy of his Government and the sentiments of the French people do not altogether coincide, and this places him in a somewhat false position, and will most likely lead to apparent vacillation and inconsistency in his conduct.

Madame de Lieven writes to me that the Neapolitan Minister at Paris affirms that his King will not give way at the dictation of the Allied Powers. We do not, however, as yet know what it is that is required of him. If it be true that he

<sup>1</sup> [The British and French Governments had on more than one occasion remonstrated with the King of Naples on the cruel and arbitrary policy of his Government, which led eventually to his own destruction; but the King received these remonstrances very ill, and on October 28 the differences between these Courts had become so serious that the British and French Ministers were withdrawn from Naples, and a naval squadron appeared off the city. The Russian Government at this time issued a circular despatch complaining of these proceedings of the Western Powers, and denying their right to interfere for the purpose of extorting concessions from the King of Naples to his own subjects.]

should govern his people more mildly and liberally, nothing can be more vague, and our greatest difficulties would begin when we had extorted from him promises and engagements to act according to *our* notions of justice and humanity. He would be more than mortal if he was disposed honestly to act up to engagements and promises extorted from him by fear, and it would be impossible for us to superintend and secure their due performance without taking upon ourselves virtually the government of his kingdom and superseding\* the King's authority. We never should get France to concur in this, and on the whole it appears more probable that differences will arise in the course of this joint action between us and France than that we should succeed in ameliorating the condition of Naples. I fear the rage for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries will never be extinguished here. I see in the papers to-day an address to Clarendon from the Protestant Society, requesting he will interpose with the Spanish Government in favour of some Spanish subject who has got into trouble in consequence of having turned Protestant, and being engaged in diffusing the Scriptures, and trying to convert others to Protestantism, which is an offence against the laws of Spain.

*October 7th.*--I have seen Clarendon and asked him about the affair of Naples. He was not very communicative, and I suspect he is not very easy about the course we are pursuing and the part he has to play. He first said that it was impossible for us to tolerate the conduct of the King to us, and the impertinence of his note. I asked what it was he said; Clarendon replied it amounted to this, 'Mind your own business.' Then he alluded to the atrocities of the Government, which ought not to be endured; that no man was safe for a minute, or could tell when he went to bed at night that he might not be arrested in the morning, all which was done by the King's personal orders; that there was continual danger of an outbreak or insurrection, particularly of a Muratist revolution. I told him my opinion of the very questionable policy of interference, either as a matter of right or of expediency, and nothing

could be more lame than the case he made out. He said the ships were not to act any hostile part, or to coerce the King, which makes the case worse in my opinion. It is doing neither one thing nor the other, violating a sound principle, and incurring great future risks without any present object, or effecting any good, or benefiting the people in whom we take an interest. He says the Emperor Napoleon has a great horror of a Muratist movement, the Prince Murat, his cousin, being a most worthless blackguard ; but his son, who married Berthier's granddaughter and heiress, is a young man full of merit of every sort.

*London, October 10th.*—I met Clarendon again at the Travellers', and had some conversation with him, but was interrupted by Azeglio, or I might probably have learnt more about the present state of affairs. He told me that we had been squabbling with the French Government, and that the persevering attempts of Russia to disturb the harmony between us and them had not been unsuccessful. Nothing in the way of cajolery had been omitted at Moscow to captivate the French, while on one occasion the Emperor had been so uncivil that Granville felt himself obliged to go to Gortschakoff and make a formal complaint, which was met by all sorts of assurances and protestations in order to mollify him, and after this everything went on smoothly. It is a curious state of things, for as far as I can make it out, the policy of the French Government appears to be to become intimate with Russia and to be cool with us ; but all the time the Empérator (who is the Government) shrinks from anything like a breach with England, and clings to the intimacy established between the two Courts, and has a profound respect for the Queen and value for her good opinion. I asked him how he reconciled the offensive Circular of Gortschakoff with the anxiety of Russia to please France, when he said that he had no doubt they had told the French that it was aimed exclusively at *us*, and had come to an understanding with Morny about it, so that France was not to take offence at it. We are now, he said on the best terms with

Austria, and Austria on the worst with Russia. Russia knows that the article of the treaty compelling her to surrender a part of Bessarabia was the work of Austria, and this was an injury and an insult (for she had never before disgorged territory) which she never would forgive. The Russian Circular would have the effect of complicating the Neapolitan question, as it made the King more resolved not to yield to the demands of the two Powers. He told me that Palmerston had resolved to take up in earnest the question of Law Reform next year, and that he (Clarendon) had strongly urged him to do so as the best way of procuring both strength and credit for his Government; that Palmerston had readily come into it, and was resolved to carry out those measures which have so long been under discussion, and which for various reasons have hitherto failed of their accomplishment.

*November 10th.*—I went to The Grove on Saturday and had a good deal of comfortable talk with Clarendon about foreign affairs, especially the Bolgrad question and Naples. He described the former very clearly, and satisfied me that we are entirely in the right. It was settled, he said, at Paris mainly between him and Orloff. He drew the line on the map as the boundary had been agreed upon, and as he was doing so, Orloff said, ‘I wish you would draw it a little more to the south; it will make no sort of difference to you, and by this means it includes within our line a strip of territory which the Emperor wishes to retain because it forms a part of a military colony which he is anxious to keep intact;’ and Clarendon agreed to draw the line accordingly and to accomplish the Emperor’s wishes. They have since attempted to quibble about another Bolgrad which was not even marked at all on their map, and it turns out that the story of the military colony was a mere pretence, as they have themselves given that up without making any difficulty. The state of the case and the difference which has since arisen with Russia and with France is this: the Emperor Napolcon, who is very indolent and abhors the trouble of examining details, and consequently remains

often ignorant of what it behoves him to know, suffered himself to be bamboozled by Brunnow and misled by Walewski into giving his assent to the Russian interpretation of the boundary line, and to giving a promise of his support in the controversy. Recently at 'Compiègne Cowley, in a long audience, went through the whole question with him and minutely explained the case against Russia. The Emperor said he had never really understood it before, acknowledged that our case was good, regretted that he had committed himself, but said that having pledged his word he did not know how to break that pledge and to withdraw the support he had promised to give to Russia in the dispute, and this is the fix in which the question now is. While the foolish and ignorant newspapers here (except the 'Times') are endeavouring to separate the Emperor from his ministers, and to make out that he is one with our Government, and that the difficulties and obstructions proceed from other parties, the truth is that they now proceed entirely from himself, worked upon and deceived certainly by Russian agents and pro-Russian ministers; but if he really was in the disposition which our press attributes to him, he might break through such obligations as he suffered himself to be entangled in and settle the question at once; nor is it very easy to see why he does not, for there is good reason to believe he is sincerely desirous of remaining on good terms with us. I asked Clarendon why the question could not be again referred to a Conference of the Powers parties to the Treaty, and he said we could not consent to this, because we should be in a minority, for Sardinia, partly cajoled by Russia and partly from antipathy to Austria, would go against us.

I asked him about Naples, of which affair he could give but a very unsatisfactory account and a lame story. He said France had acted with us very steadily, but that it was she who had started this hare, and he had engaged in it in the belief that the Emperor would never have mooted the question unless he had been assured that the King of Naples would yield to the remonstrances of the two Courts, and but for that conviction

he would never have meddled in it, which he now very much regretted. He had given Carini notice to quit, and at their parting interview he had entreated him to persuade the King if possible to change his system, and, now that he was relieved from all interference, menace, or coercion, and his dignity could not suffer, to give satisfaction to all Europe by putting an end to the inhuman and impolitic system, which had occasioned our interference and had drawn upon him remonstrances and advice from every Sovereign in Europe. Very good advice, and I hope it may be followed, but it is a lame and impotent conclusion to the menacing demonstrations with which we began to quarrel. Clarendon talked of the various atrocities of the King of Naples, but with an evident consciousness that the fact, even if it be true, and not, as is probable, exaggerated, affords no excuse for our policy in the matter. As the subject could not be agreeable I did not press it, and abstained from telling him how general the opinion is that he has committed a great blunder. He will probably hear enough of it before the chapter is closed ; even Granville, who never says much, said to me yesterday that ‘it was a very foolish affair.’

Clarendon talked to me of Palmerston, and told me (what I think I had heard, and have very likely noted before) that on Aberdeen’s fall Palmerston was quite ready to join Derby when Derby tried to form a Government, and that it was Clarendon’s refusal which frustrated that attempt. Palmerston endeavoured to persuade Clarendon to join, but when Clarendon put to him all the reasons why they had both of them better refuse, Palmerston saw them all very clearly, and rather imprudently said on leaving him, ‘We are *both* agreed that it will not do to have anything to do with Derby and his Government.’ When Clarendon went to the Queen and explained his own conduct to her, and she expressed to him the embarrassment which she felt, and asked him what she could do, he at once said, ‘Send for Lord Palmerston, who is the only man, in the present temper of the people and state of affairs, who can form a Government that has a chance of standing. Send for him at once,

place yourself entirely in his hands, give him your entire confidence, and I will answer for his conduct being all that you can desire.' The Queen took the advice, and has had no reason to repent of it, and Clarendon told me he had done everything in his power, and seized every available opportunity to reconcile them to each other, to promote a good feeling and understanding, and to soften any little asperities which might have made their intercourse less smooth, and the consequence is that Palmerston gets on with her very well, and his good sense as well as Clarendon's exhortations make him see of what importance it is to him for the easy working of his Government and his own ease to be on good and cordial terms with the Queen. It is therefore really to Clarendon that Palmerston is indebted in great measure, if not entirely, for being in his present position, but Clarendon has too much tact ever to remind him of it, or of what he was himself inclined to do in 1855.

*November 19th.* -- The death of Jervis made the office of Chief Justice of Common Pleas vacant.<sup>1</sup> According to established (but as I think bad) usage, the Attorney-General, Cockburn, had a right to take the place, and for the last fortnight nothing occupied public attention more than the question whether he would take it or not. He was much averse to take it, but everybody pressed him to accept it, and after much hesitation and consultation he agreed to be Chief Justice, and now it is said he regrets his determination and thinks he has made a mistake. He gives up Parliament, for which he is well adapted, where he acts a conspicuous part, being a capital speaker, and which he likes, and feels that it is his element. He gives up the highest place at the bar, where he is a successful advocate, and makes 15,000*l.* or 16,000*l.* a year, and he sees that he shall be obliged to give up in great measure his loose habits and assume more decorous behaviour, which will be a great sacrifice to him, and he becomes a judge with 6,000*l.* a year for life, not being a good lawyer, and conscious that he

<sup>1</sup> [Right Hon. Sir John Jervis, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, died on November 1, 1856, at the age of fifty-four.]

will be inferior to his colleagues and to the Puisne Judge in his own court. As soon as he had consented to the promotion a fresh difficulty presented itself as to the office of Solicitor-General, for such is the penury of legal ability at this time that Westminster Hall cannot furnish any men of unquestionable fitness for the office, and the difficulty is increased by the choice being necessarily restricted to men holding the opinions of the present Government, and being able to command a seat in Parliament. They have offered the place to the Recorder, James Wortley, but up to this moment I know not if it has been accepted.<sup>1</sup>

*November 23rd.*—After long delay and apparently much hesitation James Wortley has accepted the Solicitor-Generalship. He consulted Gladstone and Sidney Herbert, neither of them very eligible advisers on such a question. Gladstone is said to have replied that he would run a great risk as to his pecuniary interests, but if he could support the foreign policy of the Government, there was no reason why he should not accept. He retains his rank of Privy Councillor, of which I doubt the fitness, as it places him, at all events, in a very anomalous position, for the law officers are the official advisers of the Privy Council and are often called upon to sit there as assessors. However, the Judges are said to have pronounced an opinion that there is no reason why he should not plead in any of the courts. It is said, and I believe truly, that now Cockburn has taken the irretrievable step he is very sorry for it, and is more struck by the necessary consequences of his promotion than he was at first. He has all his life been a very debauched fellow, but he is clever, good-natured, and of a liberal disposition and much liked by his friends. A story is told of him that he was in the habit of going down on Sundays to Richmond or elsewhere with a woman, and generally with a different one, and the landlady of the inn he went to remem-

<sup>1</sup> [Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley, a younger son of Lord Wharncliffe, who then filled the office of Recorder of London, which he surrendered for that of Solicitor-General.]

bered that Sir A. Cockburn always brought Lady Cockburn with him, but that she never saw any woman who looked so different on different days, and this gave rise to another story. When Lord Campbell went to some such place with Lady Stratheden (who had been raised to the peerage before her husband), the mistress of the house said that Sir A. Cockburn always brought *Lady Cockburn* with him, but that the Chief Justice brought another lady and not *Lady Campbell*.

While we have meetings perpetually held and innumerable writings put forth to promote education and raise the moral standard of the people, we are horrified and alarmed day after day by accounts of the most frightful murders, colossal frauds, and crimes of every description. War has ceased, though the Temple of Janus seems only to be ajar ; but the world is still in commotion, in alarm, and visited by every sort of calamity, moral and material, in the midst of which it is difficult to discover any signs of the improvement of the human race, even of those portions of it which are supposed to be the most civilised and the most progressive.

*December 7th.*—At Wrotham and at Ossington last week. The news of the day is that we are to have another ‘Conference’ at Paris, to settle the Bolgrad affair, our Government having given way to what Clarendon told me he certainly would not consent ; but we had managed to get matters into such a fix, and it was so necessary to extricate all the several parties from the embarrassed positions in which they were placed by their own or by each other’s faults, that no alternative remained. This arrangement, which is not very consistent with Palmerston’s recent declarations at Manchester and in London, is proclaimed by the Government papers, and generally understood to be a means of enabling Russia to concede our demands with as little loss of dignity and credit as possible, and to terminate the difference between us and France by our making an apparent concession to France, while she makes a real one to us. Everything has evidently

been carefully arranged for the playing out of this diplomatic farce, and Cowley, who is to be our sole representative, is to be accommodating and not quarrelsome ; but *reste à savoir* whether the manœuvres of some of the others may not provoke his temper and bring about angry collisions. Between this matter and the *bévue* we have made of our Neapolitan interference, never was there such a deplorable exhibition as our foreign policy displays ; but nobody seems to care much about it, and though there will in all probability be a good deal of sparring, and taunts and sneers in Parliament, Palmerston's Government will incur no danger of any adverse vote, for everybody is conscious that in the actual state of parties and the dearth of parliamentary leaders, every man of sufficient ability being disqualified for one reason or another, no man but Palmerston can conduct a Government or command a majority in Parliament ; nor does there appear in the distance any man likely to be able to fill his place in the event of his death or his breaking down, events which must be contemplated as not very remote when he is seventy-three years old, although his wonderful constitution and superhuman vigour of mind and body make everybody forget his age and regard the possibility of his demise with the sort of incredulity which made the courtier of Louis XIV. exclaim on the death of that monarch, 'Après la mort du Roi on peut tout croire.'

Great astonishment has been excited by the appointment of a Mr. Bickersteth as Bishop of Ripon, against whom nothing can be said, nor anything for him, except that he is a very Low Churchman. All the vacant sees have now been filled with clergymen of this colour, which is not very fair or prudent, as it will exasperate the moderate High Churchmen and set them strongly against a Government which appears determined to shut the door of ecclesiastical preferment against all but the Lowest Churchmen, and such a policy will most likely have the effect of encouraging the advocates of those extreme measures of an anti-Catholic or a puritanical character which always give so much trouble

and embarrassment when they are brought forward in Parliament.

*December 12th.*—The Conference to which Clarendon told me he would not agree is going to take place after all, but everybody is ridiculing what is notoriously a got-up comedy with a foregone conclusion, devised to solve the difficulty into which all the great actors had got themselves, but it is not yet quite clear what the *modus operandi* is to be. From what I have picked up here and there I gather that Sardinia is to be induced to give a casting vote against Russia, leaving France still at liberty to fulfil her original engagement and vote with her, while we obtain the object for which we have stood out, and by such a *dodge* to bring the dispute to an end. When Parliament meets there will be plenty to be said about this affair and about Naples, and no doubt the Opposition or the malcontents will be able to bombard the Government and vent their spleen, but that will be all, for Palmerston is perfectly invulnerable and may commit any blunders with impunity.

A report has been lately current that Gladstone will become the leader of the Opposition *vice* Disraeli, a report I thought quite wild and improbable, but I heard the other day something which looks as if it was not so much out of the question as I had imagined. George Byng told me he had met Sir William Jolliffe, who is the Derbyite whipper-in, at Wrotham, and having asked him whether there was any foundation for the above report, he replied that it certainly was not true at present, that he could not say what might or might not happen hereafter, but that he could not at once be accepted as *leader*, and must in any case first serve in the ranks. I do not know what may be the value of Jolliffe's opinions, or what he knows of the intentions of his chief, but he may probably be more or less acquainted with the sentiments of his party, and may be aware that their necessities have modified their extreme repugnance to Gladstone, and that they may now be willing to accept him as leader (eventually), though two years ago they so

peremptorily insisted on his entire exclusion from their political society. Meanwhile there is no combination amongst them. Derby is at Knowsley amusing himself, and Disraeli at Paris, doing nobody knows what.

There is talk of Lord Granville's resigning the lead and his office and going to Ireland instead of Carlisle, or to Paris instead of Cowley, but he has never intimated the least intention of doing either. Ireland he certainly will not go to ; Paris is not so impossible. There seems some doubt whether his health will admit of his going on in the House of Lords, and if they knew how to get Cowley away from Paris without doing him an injustice or an unkindness, I think they would not be sorry, for his position there is unsatisfactory. It is a serious inconvenience to be on such terms with Walewski that they never converse at all except when business obliges them to meet, and the consequence of their relations is that all affairs between the two countries are carried on between Clarendon and Persigny in London, and as little as possible at Paris, because the Emperor now fights rather shy of Cowley, and is by no means on the same terms with him as heretofore, though always very civil and cordial enough when they meet ; and His Majesty will not part with Walewski, who, although of a moderate capacity, is clever enough to know how to deal with his master, and make himself agreeable to him, and the Emperor knows that if he were to change his Minister for Foreign Affairs, it would be attributed to the influence of England and be on that account unpopular. The English press has rendered Walewski the incalculable service of making him popular in France, and rendering it impossible for the Emperor to dismiss him, even if he had a mind to do so, which he has not.

*December 17th.*—There was an article in the 'Times' the day before yesterday commenting in severe terms upon a transaction of our Foreign Office, as set forth in a Blue Book, in relation to Brazil. It was the old subject of the slave trade, and the old method of arrogant overbearing meddling and

dictation, a case as odious and unjust as any one of those by which Palmerston's foreign administration has ever been disgraced. I really no longer recognise my old friend Clarendon, in whose good sense and moderation I used to place implicit confidence, and believed that he would inaugurate a system at the Foreign Office very different from that of Palmerston, and which would tend to relieve us from the excessive odium and universal unpopularity which Palmerston had drawn upon us. It appears that I was mistaken. I told Granville yesterday morning what I thought of this case, and asked him if it was correctly stated. He said he regarded it just as I did, and that it was quite true, every word of it. I then expressed my astonishment that Clarendon should have acted in this way, and he replied, 'The fault of Clarendon is that he is always thinking of the effect to be produced by Blue Books, and he looks after popularity, and is influenced by those he acts with. Under Aberdeen he was very moderate, but he saw that the moderation of Aberdeen made him unpopular, while Palmerston's popularity in great measure arose from his very different manner towards other Powers, so when Palmerston became Prime Minister instead of Aberdeen, he fell readily into the Palmerstonian method.' I dare say this is the truth, and besides the contagion of Palmerston himself, he is surrounded by men at the Foreign Office who are prodigious admirers of Palmerston and of his slashing ways, and who no doubt constantly urge Clarendon to adopt a similar style. All this is to me matter of great regret personally, and it is revolting as to good taste; and, as I believe, to our national interests. It is, however, a consolation to see that the most powerful and influential of our journals has the courage, independence, and good sense to protest publicly against such violent and unjustifiable proceedings.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**State of England after the War—Prussia and Neuschâtel—Sir Robert Peel's Account of the Russian Coronation—An Historical Puzzle -The Death of Princess Lieven--Mr. Spurgeon's Preaching—Mr. Gladstone in Opposition—Tit for Tat—Difficult Relations with France—Lord John in Opposition—The Liddell *v.* Westerton Case -Death of Lord Ellesmere—Violent Opposition to the Government on the China Question—Languid Defence of the Government—Impending Dissolution—Popularity of Lord Palmerston—Despotism of Ministers—Parliament dissolved—Judgement on Liddell *v.* Westerton—Lord Palmerston's Address—The Elections--Defeat of the Manchester Leaders—Fear of Radical Tendencies—The Country approves the Chinese Policy—Death of Lady Keith.**

*January 9th, 1857.*—The old year ended and the new year began strangely. After three years of expensive war the balance-sheet exhibited such a state of wealth and prosperity as may well make us ‘the envy of surrounding nations ;’ but while we have recovered the great blessing of peace, we have to look back upon a year stained beyond all precedent with frightful crimes of every sort and kind : horrible murders, enormous frauds, and scandalous robberies and defalcations. The whole attention of the country is now drawn to the social questions which press upon us with appalling urgency, and the next session of Parliament, which is rapidly advancing, must be principally engaged in the endeavour to find remedies for the evils and dangers incident to our corrupted population, and our erroneous and inadequate penal system, the evils and dangers of which threaten to become greater and more difficult to remedy every day. From this question it is impossible to dissever that of education, for at least we ought to make the experiment

whether the diffusion of education will or will not be conducive to the diminution of crime, and we shall see whether the sectarian prejudices, the strength and obstinacy of which have hitherto erected impassable barriers to the progress of educating the people, will retain all their obstinacy in the face of the existing evil, or whether the bodily fear and the universal persuasion of the magnitude and imminence of the danger will not operate upon bigotry itself and render the masses more reasonable. Besides these important questions the new year opens with the most unpleasant prospect abroad, where everything seems to go wrong, and our foreign relations, be the cause what, or the fault whose it may, to be in a very unhappy state.

The quarrel between Prussia and Switzerland<sup>1</sup> is one in which we appear to have no immediate interest, except that it is always our interest to prevent any infraction of the general peace, but of course we could not think of not interfering in some way or other in the matter. The King of Prussia has behaved as ill and as foolishly as possible, and our Government entirely disapprove of his conduct and have given the Swiss to understand that all our sympathies are with them, and that we think they have right on their side. If France and England were now on really good terms, and would act together with cordiality and authority, nothing would be so easy as to put a prompt extinguisher on the Swiss affair ; but as we cannot agree upon a common course of action, there is danger of the dispute drifting into a war, though it is evidently so much the interest and the desire of the Emperor Napoleon to allow no shots to be fired, that I still expect, even at this almost the

<sup>1</sup> [The Prussian Crown retained, by the Treaty of Vienna, rights of sovereignty over the Swiss Canton of Neufchâtel, and appointed a Governor there. In other respects the Neufchâtelese enjoyed all the rights and liberties of Swiss citizens. This anomalous state of things naturally gave rise to friction. The King of Prussia derived no sort of advantage from his nominal sovereignty ; but as a matter of dignity he declined to renounce it, and even threatened a military occupation of the Canton, which the Swiss Confederation would have resisted.]

eleventh hour, that peace will be preserved. But the question appears to be in a complete fix. The Swiss will not release the prisoners unless the King will at the same time abandon his claims on Neufchâtel, or unless England and France will guarantee that he will do so. The King will do nothing and agree to nothing unless the Swiss will previously and unconditionally release the prisoners, and moreover he repudiates our intervention, as he thinks us unfairly disposed to himself. The simplest course would be for England and France to declare that a Prussian invasion of Switzerland should be a *casus belli*, and I think we should have no objection to this, but France won't go along with us. Then if the Swiss should deliver over the prisoners to France, and she would accept the dépôt, all might be settled. As it is, we have backed up Switzerland to resist, and if war ensues we shall leave her to her fate—a very inglorious course to pursue ; and although I have a horror of war, and am alive to the policy of keeping well with France, I am inclined to think that having encouraged the Swiss to a certain point it would better become us to take our own independent line and to threaten Prussia with war if she does not leave Switzerland alone, than to sit tamely by and see her, unimpeded, execute her threats. The Government are evidently much embarrassed by this question, which is still further complicated by the matrimonial engagement between the two Royal families.

*January 13th.*—The Swiss affair seems settled, so far at least that there will be no war. The prisoners will be released, but I dare say the King of Prussia will *chicaner* about the abdication of his rights over Neufchâtel. All the world is occupied with Sir Robert Peel's speech, or lecture as he terms it, at Birmingham, where he gave an account, meant to be witty, of his *séjour* in Russia and its incidents. It was received with shouts of applause by a congenial Brummagem audience, and by deep disapprobation in every decent society and by all reasonable people.

*January 14th.*—I met Clarendon last night, who told me the Swiss question was still in doubt, for the King was shuffling

and would probably play them a trick, and though he knew the prisoners were going to be liberated, he would not engage positively to give up his claim. The Emperor Napoleon has behaved very ill and ungratefully to the Swiss, who in consequence were more irritated against him than against the King of Prussia himself. Nothing could equal the fawning flattery and servility of the King to the Emperor, who was at the same time tickled by it and disgusted.

*January 20th.*—At Woburn for two days. I found the Duke entirely occupied with a question (on which he had of course a various correspondence), whether when Aberdeen's Government was formed, Aberdeen had *at the time* imparted to John Russell his wish and intention to retire as soon as possible, so that John might take his place as Premier. To ascertain this fact, he had applied to Lord John and Aberdeen, to Lansdowne and to Clarendon, all of whom he invited to send him their recollections and impressions, which they did. The matter now is not of much importance, but is worth noticing from the evidence it affords of the difficulty of arriving at truth, and therefore of the fallibility of all history. Though this circumstance is so recent, and at the time was so important, not one of the parties, neither Lord John nor Aberdeen nor the other two, can recollect what did pass, but as they all concur in their impressions that no such engagement was given when the Government was formed, it may safely be concluded that this is the truth. I know I heard all that passed, and certainly I never heard of any such intention, though I did hear some time afterwards that such had been Aberdeen's expressed wish and Lord John's expectation. I read Aberdeen's letters, in which he entered into other matters connected with his Government, and I must say more creditable, gentlemanlike, and amiable letters I never read.

*January 28th.*—At Stoke from Saturday to Monday. On returning to town, we heard that the Persian war was over, Palmerston's usual luck bringing a settlement of the only question that could be embarrassing on the eve of the meeting

of Parliament. But the news only comes telegraphically, so unless confirmed must be doubtful, and cannot be named in the Speech.<sup>1</sup>

Two remarkable deaths have occurred, one of which touches me nearly, that of Madame de Lieven ; the other is that of the Duke of Rutland. Madame de Lieven died, after a short illness, of a severe attack of bronchitis, the Duke having lingered for many months. Very different characters. Madame de Lieven came to this country at the end of 1812 or beginning of 1813 on the war breaking out between Russia and France. Pozzo di Borgo had preceded the Lievens to renew diplomatic relations and make arrangements with us. She was at that time young, at least in the prime of life, and though without any pretensions to beauty, and indeed with some personal defects, she had so fine an air and manner, and a countenance so pretty and so full of intelligence, as to be on the whole a very striking and attractive person, quite enough so to have lovers, several of whom she engaged in succession without seriously attaching herself to any. Those who were most notoriously her slaves at different times were the present Lord Willoughby, the Duke of Sutherland (then Lord Gower), the Duke of Cannizzaro (then Count St. Antonio), and the Duke of Palmella, who was particularly clever and agreeable. Madame de Lieven was a *très grande dame*, with abilities of a very fine order, great tact and *finesse*, and taking a boundless pleasure in the society of the great world and in political affairs.

<sup>1</sup> [Differences had arisen in the spring of 1856 between Great Britain and the Court of Persia, in consequence of which the British Minister was withdrawn from Teheran. In October 1856 Herat was attacked and taken by the Persians, which led to war. A detachment of British troops under General Outram landed at Bushire on January 27, 1857, and the Persians were defeated at Kooshab on February 8. Peace was signed in Paris between Her Majesty and the Shah on March 4, the Persians engaging to abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and to respect the independence of Herat. If these dates are correct, as given in Irving's *Annals of our Time*, the intelligence of the peace cannot have reached London so soon as Mr. Greville supposed, and rumour anticipated the event.]

of every sort. People here were not slow to acknowledge her merits and social excellence, and she almost immediately took her place in the cream of the cream of English society, forming close intimacies with the most conspicuous women in it, and assiduously cultivating relations with the most remarkable men of all parties. These personal *liaisons* sometimes led her into political partisanship not always prudent and rather inconsistent with her position, character, and functions here. But I do not believe she was ever mixed up in any intrigues, nor even, at a later period, that she was justly obnoxious to the charge of caballing and mischief-making which has been so lavishly cast upon her. She had an insatiable curiosity for political information, and a not unnatural desire to make herself useful and agreeable to her own Court by imparting to her Imperial masters and mistresses all the information she acquired and the anecdotes she picked up. Accordingly while she was in England, which was from 1812 to 1834, she devoted herself to society, not without selection, but without exclusion, except that she sought and habitually confined herself to the highest and best. The Regent, afterwards George IV., delighted in her company, and she was a frequent guest at the Pavilion, and on very intimate terms with Lady Conyngham, for although Madame de Lieven was not very tolerant of mediocrity, and social and colloquial superiority was necessary to her existence, she always made great allowances for Royalty and those immediately connected with it. She used to be a great deal at Oatlands, and was one of the few intimate friends of the Duchess of York, herself very intelligent, and who therefore had in the eyes of Madame de Lieven the double charm of her position and her agreeableness. It was her duty as well as her inclination to cultivate the members of all the successive Cabinets which passed before her, and she became the friend of Lord Castlereagh, of Canning, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, Lord Palmerston, John Russell, Aberdeen, and many others of inferior note, and she was likewise one of the *habitues* of Holland House, which was always more or less

neutral ground, even when Lord Holland was himself a member of the Government. When Talleyrand came over here as Ambassador, there was for some time a sort of antagonism between the two embassies, and particularly between the ladies of each, but Madame de Dino (now Duchesse de Sagan) was so clever, and old Talleyrand himself so remarkable and so agreeable, that Madame de Lieven was irresistibly drawn towards them, and for the last year or two of their being in England they became extremely intimate ; but her greatest friend in England was Lady Cowper, afterwards Lady Palmerston, and through her she was also the friend of Palmerston, who was also well affected towards Russia, till his jealous and suspicious mind was inflamed by his absurd notion of her intention to attack us in India, a crotchet which led us into the folly and disaster of the Afghan war. In 1834 the Lievens were recalled, and she was established at St. Petersburg in high favour about the Empress, but her *séjour* there was odious to her, and she was inconsolable at leaving England, where after a residence of above twenty years she had become rooted in habits and affections, although she never really and completely understood the country. She remained at St. Petersburg for several months, until her two youngest children were taken ill, and died almost at the same time. This dreadful blow, and the danger of the severe climate to her own health, gave her a valid excuse for desiring leave of absence, and she left Russia never to return. She went to Italy, where M. de Lieven died about the year 1836 or 1837, after which she established herself in Paris, where her *salon* became the rendezvous of the best society, and particularly the neutral ground on which eminent men and politicians of all colours could meet, and where her tact and adroitness made them congregate in a sort of social truce.

I do not know at what exact period it was that she made the acquaintance of M. Guizot, but their intimacy no doubt was established after he had begun to play a great political part, for his literary and philosophical celebrity would not alone have had much charm for her. They were, however, already

great friends at the time of his embassy to England, and she took that opportunity of coming here to pay a visit to her old friends. The fall of Thiers' Government and Guizot's becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs, of course drew Madame de Lieven still more closely to him, and during the whole of his Administration their alliance continued to be of the closest and most intimate character. It was an immense object to her to possess the entire confidence of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who kept her *au courant* of all that was going on in the political world, while it is not surprising that he should be irresistibly attracted by a woman immensely superior to any other of his acquaintance, who was fully able to comprehend and willing to interest herself about all the grand and important subjects which he had to handle and manage, and who associated herself with a complete sympathy in all his political interests. Their *liaison*, which some people consider mysterious, but which I believe to have been entirely social and political, grew constantly more close, and every moment that Guizot could snatch from the Foreign Office and the Chamber he devoted to Madame de Lieven. He used to go there regularly three times a day on his way to and his way from the Chamber, when it was sitting, and in the evening; but while he was by far her first object, she cultivated the society of all the most conspicuous and remarkable people whom she could collect about her, and she was at one time very intimate with Thiers, though his rivalry with Guizot and their intense hatred of each other eventually produced a complete estrangement between her and Thiers.

The revolution of 1848 dispersed her friends, broke up her *salon*, and terrified her into making a rather ludicrous, but as it turned out wholly unnecessary, escape. She came to England, where she remained till affairs appeared to be settled in France and all danger of disturbance at an end. She then returned to Paris, where she remained, not without fear and trembling, during the period of peril and vicissitude which at length ended, much to her satisfaction, with the *coup d'état* and the Empire.

Guizot had returned to Paris, but constantly refused to take any part in political affairs, either under the Republic or with the new government of Louis Napoleon. This, however, did not prevent Madame de Lieven (though their friendship continued the same) from showing her sympathy and goodwill to the Imperial *régime*, and her *salon*, which had been decimated by previous events, was soon replenished by some of the ministers or adherents of the Empire, who, though they did not amalgamate very well with her old *habitués*, supplied her with interesting information, and subsequently, when the war broke out, rendered her very essential service. When the rupture took place all the Russian subjects were ordered to quit Paris. She was advised by some of her friends to disobey the order, for as she was equally precluded from going to England, the circumstances in which this order placed her were indescribably painful and even dangerous, but she said that however great the sacrifice, and though she was entirely independent, she was under so many obligations and felt so much attachment to the Imperial family that, cost her what it might, she would obey the order, and accordingly she repaired to Brussels, where for a year and a half or two years she took up her melancholy and uncomfortable abode. At last this banishment from her home and her friends, with all the privations it entailed, became insupportable, and she endeavoured through the intervention of some of her Imperialist friends, to obtain leave of the French Government to return to Paris, either with or without (for it is not clear which) the consent of her own Court. The Emperor Napoleon seems to have been easily moved to compassion, and signified his consent to her return. No sooner did this become known to Cowley and the English Government, than they resolved to interpose for the purpose of preventing her return to Paris, and Cowley went to Walewski and insisted that the Emperor's permission should be revoked. The *entente cordiale* was then in full force, nothing could be refused to the English Ambassador, and Madame de Lieven was informed that she must not come back to Paris. She bore this

sad disappointment with resignation, made no complaints, and resolved to bide her time. Some months later she caused a representation to be made to the French Government that the state of her health made it impossible for her to pass another winter at Brussels, and that she was going to Nice, but as it was of vital importance to her to consult her medical adviser at Paris, she craved permission to proceed to Nice *via* Paris, where she would only stay long enough for that purpose. The permission was granted. She wrote me word that she was going to Paris to remain there a few days. I replied that I was much mistaken in her if once there she ever quitted it again. She arrived and was told by her doctor that it would be dangerous in her state to continue her journey. She never did proceed further, and never did quit Paris again. The Government winked at her stay, and never molested or interfered with her. She resumed her social habits, but with great caution and reserve, and did all she could to avoid giving umbrage or exciting suspicion. It was a proof of the greatness of her mind, as well as of her prudence and good temper, that she not only testified no resentment at the conduct of Cowley towards her, but did all she could to renew amicable relations with him, and few things annoyed her more than his perseverance in keeping aloof from her. From the time of her last departure from England up to the death of Frederic Lamb (Lord Beauvale and Melbourne) she maintained a constant correspondence with him. After his death she proposed to me to succeed him as her correspondent, and for the last two or three years our epistolary commerce was intimate and unbroken. She knew a vast deal of the world and its history during the half century she had lived and played a part in it, but she was not a woman of much reading, and probably at no time had been very highly or extremely educated, but her excessive cleverness and her *finesse d'esprit* supplied the want of education, and there was one book with which her mind was perpetually nourished by reading it over and over again. This was the 'Letters of Madame de Sévigné,' and to the constant study of those un-

rivalled letters she was no doubt considerably indebted for her own epistolary eminence, and for her admirable style of writing, not, however, that her style and Madame de Sévigné's were at all alike. She had not (in her letters at least) the variety, the abundance, or the *abandon* of the great Frenchwoman, but she was more terse and epigrammatic, and she had the same graphic power and faculty of conveying much matter in few words.

Nothing could exceed the charm of her conversation or her grace, ease, and tact in society. She had a nice and accurate judgement, and an exquisite taste in the choice of her associates and friends ; but though taking an ardent pleasure in agreeableness, and peculiarly susceptible of being bored, she was not fastidious, full of politeness and good breeding, and possessed the faculty of turning every one to account, and eliciting something either of entertainment or information from the least important of her acquaintance. It has been the fashion here, and the habit of the vulgar and ignorant press, to stigmatise Madame de Lieven as a mischievous intriguer, who was constantly occupied in schemes and designs hostile to the interests of our country. I firmly believe such charges to be utterly unfounded. She had resided for above twenty years, the happiest of her life, in England, and had imbibed a deep attachment to the country, where she had formed many more intimacies and friendships than she possessed anywhere else, and to the last day of her life she continued to cherish the remembrance of her past connexion, to cultivate the society of English people, and to evince without disguise her predilection for their country. She had never lived much in Russia, her connexion with it had been completely dissolved, and all she retained of it was a respectful attachment to the Imperial family, together with certain sympathies and feelings of loyalty for her native country and her Sovereign which it would have been unnatural and discreditable to disavow. Her well-known correspondence with the Imperial Court was only caused by the natural anxiety of those great persons to be kept

*au courant* of social and political affairs by such an accomplished correspondent, but I do not believe she was ever employed by them in any business or any political design ; on the contrary, she was rather distrusted and out of favour with them, on account of her being so denaturalised and for her ardent affection for England and the English. Russia was the country of her birth, France the country of her adopted abode, but England was the country of her predilection. With this cosmopolite character she dreaded everything which might produce hostile collision between any two of these countries. She was greatly annoyed when the question of the Spanish marriages embittered the relations between France and England, but infinitely more so at the Turkish quarrel, and the war which it produced. Those who fulminated against her intrigues were, as I believe, provoked at the efforts she made, so far as she had any power or influence, to bring about the restoration of peace, an unpardonable offence in the eyes of all who were bent on the continuation of the war. She lived to see peace restored, and closed her eyes almost at the moment that the last seal was put to it by the Conference of Paris. Her last illness was sudden and short. Her health had always been delicate, and she was very nervous about herself ; an attack of bronchitis brought on fever, which rapidly consumed her strength, and brought her, fully conscious, within sight of death ; that consummation, which at a distance she had always dreaded, she saw arrive with perfect calmness and resignation, and all the virtues and qualities for which the smallest credit was given her seem to have shone forth with unexpected lustre on her deathbed. Her faculties were bright and unclouded to the last, her courage and presence of mind were unshaken, she evinced a tender consideration for the feelings of those who were lamenting around her bed, and she complied with the religious obligations prescribed by the Church of which she was a member with a devotion the sincerity of which we have no right to question. She made her son Paul and Guizot leave her room a few hours before she died, that they might be spared the agony of wit-

nessing her actual dissolution, and only three or four hours before the supreme moment, she mustered strength to write a note in pencil to Guizot with these words : ‘*Merci pour vingt années d'amitié et de bonheur. Ne m'oubliez pas, adieu, adieu !*’ It was given to him after her death.

*February 8th.*—I am just come from hearing the celebrated Mr. Spurgeon preach in the Music Hall of the Surrey Gardens. It was quite full ; he told us from the pulpit that 9,000 people were present. The service was like the Presbyterian : Psalms, prayers, expounding a Psalm, and a sermon. He is certainly very remarkable, and undeniably a very fine character : not remarkable in person, in face rather resembling a smaller Macaulay, a very clear and powerful voice, which was heard through the whole hall ; a manner natural, impassioned, and without affectation or extravagance ; wonderful fluency and command of language, abounding in illustration, and very often of a very familiar kind, but without anything either ridiculous or irreverent. He gave me an impression of his earnestness and his sincerity, speaking without book or notes, yet his discourse was evidently very carefully prepared. The text was ‘*Cleanse me from my secret sins,*’ and he divided it into heads, the misery, the folly, the danger (and a fourth which I have forgotten) of secret sins, on all of which he was very eloquent and impressive. He preached for about three-quarters of an hour, and, to judge of the handkerchiefs and the audible sobs, with great effect.

We have had a week of Parliament, and though nothing important has occurred, the discussions do not seem to have raised the reputation of the Government or to promise them an easy session, though nobody seems to expect that their stability is likely to be shaken. Disraeli and Gladstone seem verging towards each other in opposition, but there is no appearance of a coalition between them ; the only striking fact is that the Opposition, of whose disunion we have heard so much, and of the internal repulsion supposed to prevail among them, seems to be as united as ever it has been, and the usual people appeared at Derby’s and Disraeli’s gatherings.

I take it that any appearance of vulnerability of the Government silences all manifestations of their mutual antipathies, and puts them on the *qui vive* to turn out their opponents.

Gladstone seems bent on leading Sir George Lewis a weary life, but Lewis is just the man to encounter and baffle such an opponent, for he is cold-blooded as a fish, totally devoid of sensibility or nervousness, of an imperturbable temper, calm and resolute, laborious and indefatigable, and exceedingly popular in the House of Commons, from his general good humour and civility, and the credit given him for honour, sincerity, plain dealing, and good intentions.

*February 11th.*—The Duke of Bedford told me yesterday that Clarendon had complained to him bitterly of John Russell's speech the first night of the session, of the hostility it manifested, and particularly of what he said about Naples. On looking at the report of the speech, the Neapolitan part was certainly strong, but it was not stronger than was warranted by the circumstances of the case, and there seems no reason why Lord John should abstain from speaking out his opinions fairly on any important point of foreign policy. His speech, on the whole, was not regarded as hostile or acrimonious. Disraeli has got into a scrape by blurting out an accusation which he has entirely failed in making good, and he has afforded Palmerston an occasion for a triumph over him not a little damaging. I am told the effect in the House was very bad for Disraeli. Palmerston is said to be beginning to show some symptoms of physical weakness, which if it be so, is very serious at the beginning of a long and arduous session. He is rising seventy-three, and at that age, and loaded with the weight of public affairs, it is not wonderful if the beginning of the end should be discernible.

*February 14th.*—The defeat which Disraeli sustained the other night was turned the night before last into something like a triumph, and Palmerston found himself in a disagreeable position. Disraeli had asserted that a treaty had been concluded between France and Austria for certain ends and at a

certain time. Palmerston flatly contradicted him, and with great insolence of manner, especially insisting that it was nothing but a Convention, and that conditional, which *never had been signed*. Two nights after Palmerston came down to the House, and in a very jaunty way said he must correct his former statement, and inform the House he had just discovered that the Convention *had been signed*. Great triumph naturally on the part of Disraeli, who poured forth a rather violent invective. Then Palmerston lost his temper and retorted that Disraeli was trying to cover an ignominious retreat by vapouring. This language, under the circumstances of the case, was very imprudent and very improper, and (unlike what he had ever experienced before) he sat down without a single cheer, his own people even not venturing to challenge the approbation of the House in a matter in which, though Disraeli was not right, Palmerston was so clearly wrong. What business had he to make such a mistake? for he ought to have been perfectly and accurately informed of every detail connected with foreign affairs. He certainly is not *qualis erat*, and I am disposed to believe that he is about to begin breaking, and that he will not be able to go through a long and arduous session with the same vigour and success which he has hitherto manifested. Every sign and symptom of weakness and failing strength which he may show will raise the hopes and stimulate the exertions of the Opposition, and we may expect to see not a coalition, but such a concurrence between Gladstone, Disraeli, and Lord Stanley as will prevent the possibility of an alternative Government. Gladstone and Disraeli are already on friendly terms, and Gladstone and Stanley seem to be still more intimate. The present Government only exists by Palmerston's personal popularity, and it would not require much to pull that down.

*February 17th.*—I called on Lyndhurst on Sunday. He was in high force, with the Blue Book before him, getting up the China case, on which he means to have a day in the House of Lords. He told me that Gladstone says the Budget

is the worst that was ever produced, and he stakes his credit on proving that it is full of errors from beginning to end, that instead of a present surplus of nearly a million, there is a present deficit of four millions, and that there will be one of nine millions in 1860. I don't believe he will make his words good.

I saw Clarendon yesterday morning, and found him low, worn, and out of sorts ; said he wished to Heaven he could be delivered from office ; everything went wrong, the labour, anxiety, and responsibility were overwhelming, and the difficult state of our relations with France more than could be endured. He could not depend on the French Government, and never knew from one day to another what the consequences of their conduct might be. He believed the Emperor sincerely desired to keep well with us, but his Government were constantly doing things which rendered our acting together and cordially almost impossible ; that his excessive levity and carelessness perpetually made him the dupe of other people, and led him into saying things and committing himself, and then he did not know how to get out of the engagements to which he stood committed. Clarendon added that it was impossible such a state of things should not produce first coolness and then quarrels, and then God knows what consequences, and he was obliged to pick his way through the embarrassments that spring up around him with the utmost care and circumspection. Palmerston, who never saw difficulties, took it with his usual easy way, and said we were not tied to France like Siamese Twins, and why should we care so much what she did, and why might she not take her way, and we ours ; but Clarendon feels that it is impossible for him, on whom the responsibility is more immediately thrown, to take a matter fraught with such consequences in so easy a style ; that if any serious dispute arose, France and Russia would probably become allied against us, and that America would join them. Russia pays the most unceasing and the most abject court to Louis Napoleon, and not without success. He (Clarendon) said nothing could be worse than the conduct of the

French Government about the affair of the Principalities, which was of vital importance to Austria, who threatened (though she would not keep her resolution) to make it a *casus belli* if it is insisted on. He said Austria had behaved very well about the amnesty in Italy, and was going to do the same thing in Hungary. We were interrupted as usual in our conversation, and I had not time to ask him about many things I wanted to hear of. I told him I thought the China case was a very bad one.

John Russell seems to me to be drifting into hostility to the Government more and more. He made a strong, but very just, speech on Naples the first night, which irritated Clarendon very much. A few nights ago he said something in the House about China, and backed up the Government against Roebuck, at which Clarendon expressed great satisfaction, and evinced a disposition to seize that pretext to put himself on good terms with Lord John, but Lord John showed no readiness to meet the overture, and when the Duke of Bedford wrote to him what Clarendon had said, he replied that Clarendon owed him nothing, for he had said what he thought right and not what he thought would be agreeable to him, and that it was very probable he should say something he would not at all like before long.

Yesterday morning the Judicial Committee finished the case of Liddell and Westerton, after eight days of elaborate argument, and a powerful case was made in appeal against Lushington's judgement, which I expect to see reversed, and I hope it will, for I detest the proceedings of the people who back up Mr. Westerton, who would drag down the Church to a puritanical level, and strip it of its splendour.

*February 19th.*—Yesterday morning, at half-past twelve o'clock, my brother-in-law Lord Ellesmere, expired at Bridgewater House, after an illness of three months. He was surrounded by all his family, and died most peacefully, and without any suffering, and in possession of his mental powers till within a few hours of his death. Few men have quitted this world more beloved, respected, and lamented than this excellent

person. He had just completed the fifty-seventh year of his age, so might naturally have been expected to live many years, and till he was taken ill, little more than three months ago, he appeared to be in his usual state of health and likely to have a long and enjoyable existence before him. It is no exaggeration to say that he was most estimable in every relation of life, and as such he enjoyed universal respect and regard. He never at any time played a conspicuous part in politics, for which he had neither ambition nor the necessary qualifications, but in such part as he was occasionally called upon to take, he acted with propriety and general approbation. But he had no taste for the turmoil of political life, and his temper was too serene and his love of repose too great to allow him to plunge deeply in political warfare. His abilities were not of a very high order, but he had a good understanding, a cultivated mind, and an inquisitive disposition, and though not profound in any branch of literature or science, he loved to wander over the vast fields of knowledge, so that he was stored with much superficial information on a great variety of subjects. His taste was good both in literature and art ; he was an elegant poet, and a fair writer of his own tongue ; he was naturally kind-hearted and charitable, more particularly to meritorious artists who stood in need of assistance, by whom his loss will be severely felt. All his tastes and pursuits were of the most refined character, and he delighted in the society of all who were remarkable for ability in any walk of life, and from whom he could derive information of any description. In political opinions he was the very type and model of a Liberal Conservative, and the statesman to whom he gave all his allegiance, together with a boundless admiration, was the Duke of Wellington. But he was always much more of a patriot than a political partisan, and he was oftener to be found giving an independent support to different Governments than fighting in the ranks of Opposition. He will, I have no doubt, be regarded as a loss to the country, even a greater loss than if he had been more actively and conspicuously engaged in politics, for he stood nearly alone in the

station he occupied, with vast wealth, unblemished character, esteemed by people of all parties, without an enemy in the world, and having no personal objects to pursue ; and though never thrusting himself forward, alike fitted for either active or contemplative life, he was at all times ready to exert his best energies in the public service or to promote the benefit and happiness of his fellow creatures. He was sincerely religious, without intolerance and austerity, or the slightest particle of ostentatious or spiritual pride. It was not, however, in the annals of political history or in the modest and unambitious incidents of his public career that his best panegyric is to be found, but in the more placid walk of private life, in the strict and conscientious discharge of his domestic and social duties, which was at the same time congenial to his sense of moral obligation, and to the benevolent impulses of his heart.

Lord Francis Leveson Gower, upon the death of his father the late Duke of Sutherland, succeeded to the immense fortune entailed upon him by his great-uncle, the Duke of Bridgewater, in the shape of the Bridgewater Canal, and found himself the possessor of vast wealth, and surrounded by a population sunk in ignorance and vice. From the first moment of his succession he considered himself in the light of a trustee for working out the moral and spiritual improvement of the people who were in a great measure committed to his charge. He accepted the obligation in a spirit of cheerfulness and resolution, and the due discharge of it continued to be the principal object of his interest and care for the remainder of his life. He employed his wealth liberally in promoting the material comfort and raising the moral condition of those by whose labour that wealth was produced. Churches, schools, and reading-rooms rose around Worsley Hall. His benevolent efforts were crowned with success, and he reaped his reward in the blessings of the surrounding multitudes and in the contemplation of their enjoyment of all the good which his active bounty had bestowed upon them. Such qualities as were here displayed, and a life thus devoted to works of

duty and beneficence, made Lord Ellesmere an object of general veneration and attachment ; but those alone who belonged to his family, or who had familiar access to the sanctuary of his domestic life, could appreciate fully the excellence and the charm of his character, and comprehend the immensity of the loss which those who were nearest and dearest to him have sustained by his death. He regarded with indifference the ordinary objects of worldly ambition ; he lived in and for his family, and he was their joy, their delight, and their pride, fulfilling in the most exemplary manner all the duties of his station, political, social, literary, and artistic ; unsurpassed as a husband, father, brother, or friend. He cultivated unremittingly the society of the best and wisest of his fellow-creatures, and it may be as truly said of him as it was of certain sages of antiquity, that ‘his excellent understanding was adorned by study, . . . and his days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue.’ The length of these precious days was not permitted by the Divine Will to be extended to the ordinary duration of human life. In the three last months, while death was gradually but surely, and with his full consciousness, advancing, his courage was never shaken and the serenity of his temper was never disturbed ; he always seemed to have more consideration for others than himself, and he met his approaching end with the firmness of a philosopher and the resignation of a Christian. To witness such an end free from bodily pain, with the mental faculties remaining unclouded till the last, full of peace and charity and love, was the best consolation that was possible to the family which surrounded his death-bed ; to them he has left a memory which will be long reverenced by all who honour virtue and patriotism, and which they will cherish with never-ending sentiments of duty and affection. He has left them an example how to live and how to die, and the world in which he had no enemy will ungrudgingly acknowledge

That to the realms of bliss was ne'er conveyed  
A purer spirit or more welcome shade.

*February 27th.*—The political war is raging furiously, and personal animosities are becoming bitterer than ever. Confusion, disorder, and doubt rage in both the great camps. Derby made a grand onslaught in the beginning of last week on the China question, and there was (an unusual thing in the Lords) an adjourned debate. Granville was very apprehensive of being beaten, but Bessborough, his able whipper-in, made such exertions that they ended by getting a very good majority. All the speaking was on the side of the Opposition, but it is quite curious how afraid people are of seriously shaking the Government. The day the debate in the Lords ended, that in the Commons began on the same question, *duce* Cobden.<sup>1</sup> The great event of the first night was John Russell's speech and powerful attack on the Government. It was one of his very best efforts and extremely successful with the House, but it was exceedingly bitter and displayed without stint or reason his hostile *animus*. It did all the mischief he wished to do, and everybody admits that if a division had then taken place, Government would have been beaten by a great majority ; but they have since adjourned twice, and the debate stands over till Monday, and the aspect of affairs appears to be very much altered. Whether it be that the effect of Lord John's speech has evaporated, that a rally has taken place among the Liberals, or that the aversion of the stiff Tories to the union between Gladstone and their leaders, the approaching consummation of which seems not to be denied, the general opinion has veered round, and now it is expected that Government will have a majority. Here again, as in the Lords, the speaking was all with the Opposition. Palmerston's speech is looked for with interest and curiosity. The remarkable incidents connected

<sup>1</sup> [A motion was made by Mr. Cobden condemning the violent measures resorted to by the British authorities in the Canton river in consequence of the seizure of the lorcha 'Arrow' by the Chinese when she had hoisted the British flag. The debate was carried on with great acrimony, and ended by the adoption of Mr. Cobden's motion by 263 to 247, a majority of 16 against the Government.]

with these transactions have been the parliamentary conduct of Gladstone and John Russell and their respective positions. Gladstone seems to have been so inflamed by spite and ill humour that all prudence and discretion forsook him ; he appears ready to say and do anything and to act with everybody if he can only contribute to upset the Government, though it is not easy to discover the cause of his bitterness, or what scheme of future conduct he has devised for himself. Lord John came over in a state of ill-humour which at first he appears to have kept under to a certain degree, and to have wished to have the appearance of acting with perfect independence, but still fairly and impartially speaking out what he thought the truth without caring whom he offended or whom he pleased by so doing. Thus he shocked Clarendon by what he said on the affair of Naples, and then pleased him very much by his next speech on foreign affairs. Then on the Budget he came to the aid of Lewis with great effect and bowled over Gladstone and Disraeli, yet even then evincing a certain spirit of hostility about the tea duties ; but on the China question he gave way to all the bitter feeling that is in him, and cast all moderation to the winds. It is impossible to conjecture what he promises to himself, and what purpose he has in view by this conduct, for it is quite extraordinary to what absolute nothingness his political power has fallen. Here is a man who has been leader with occasional intervals of Whig Governments and of the Whig party since 1834, and with great and admitted abilities, and yet he is so entirely without following in the House of Commons that three insignificant votes are the most he can command. His speech the other night was very well received because it was a very good one, and because he spoke the opinions of the greater number of his hearers.

There is, in fact, a strong feeling, both in Parliament and the country, against all that has been done at Canton, and this is the more remarkable because the press has, upon the whole, taken the opposite side. I never could understand why Palmerston and Clarendon were in such a hurry to identify

themselves with Bowring's proceedings, and to send out without delay a full approbation of all he had done, till Granville told me that both of them had been under the extraordinary delusion that the Canton affair had been very well done and would be received with great applause and satisfaction here; in point of fact, that it was a great *hit*, from which the Government would derive considerable advantage, he (Granville) himself showing his good sense by taking exactly the opposite view. He tells me that George Lewis does so likewise, and I dare say, if the truth were known, that the majority of the Cabinet coincide with them. It is remarkable that the defence of the Government in the Lords should have fallen on a man who was speaking all the time against his own opinion, and I should think Labouchere, who took up the defence in the House of Commons, was the most unlikely man in the world to approve of such proceedings. Political necessities which compel men to act thus insincerely, and to strive to make the worse appear the better cause, with the full consciousness that they are fighting against truth, appear to me frightfully demoralising, a sad searing of the political conscience, the spectacle of which is enough to scare honourable minds from entering into an arena where the contest is to be carried on in such a manner.

If the Government shbuld be beaten on the pending question, they will dissolve, at least if the state of their financial affairs will allow them; but at all events they will not resign without an appeal to the country, and this appeal they will make not on this or that question, but on the great one of all, whether the country desires that Palmerston should continue to be its minister, and on this it is impossible to doubt what will be the reply. His popularity is a fact beyond all doubt or cavil, and it is the more decisive, because not only is there no rival popularity, but every one of the other public men who have been, are, or might be his rivals are absolutely unpopular. Nobody cares any longer for John Russell; everybody detests Gladstone; Disraeli has no influence in the country, and a very doubtful position with his own party. He and Derby

have made up their minds to coalesce with Gladstone on the first good opportunity, but it seems not unlikely that they will make such a split among their own followers by so doing as to lose more than they will gain by the junction. Palmerston's popularity does not extend to his colleagues, for not one of whom does anybody care a straw. It is purely personal, and I do not think he would strengthen himself by any other alliance he could form. This fact of his popularity just at the end of his strange and chequered career is most remarkable and not a little unaccountable ; but innunerable circumstances prove this to be the undoubted truth, and that it is manifested more decidedly out of the House than in it, for in the House of Commons it does not amount to a certainty of his having always a majority. It is curious that a session which not long ago looked like being a very quiet one, in which there would be ample leisure for consideration of legal and other practical reforms, should in the first weeks be a scene of tremendous conflict, in which the very existence of the Government is trembling in the balance.

*March 2nd.*—Derby has announced to his assembled party that he is ready to join with Gladstone, though he has not done so yet, and that as they are a minority in the House of Commons, they ought to form any junction that would make them strong enough to oust the present Government and form a Conservative one. He finds it, however, a difficult matter to reconcile them all to any alliance with the detested Gladstone. Great exertions have been made to secure a majority to the Government, and John Russell's friends (the Duke of Bedford especially) are bestirring themselves to take away some of the odium that attaches to Lord John by securing his two or three followers for the division.

*March 3rd.*—Nothing can equal the excitement and curiosity here about the division. All sorts of efforts have been made all ways to influence votes. George Byng and others who meant to vote with John Russell have been obliged to promise to vote with the Government. Palmerston has had a meeting

and harangued them cheerily, but in spite of everything Hayter does not think he will have a majority, but everybody expects it to be so near that there are as many opinions as men. Much is expected to depend on Palmerston's speech, and unluckily for him he is ill with both gout and cold. If they are beaten they will dissolve as speedily as possible.

*March 4th.*—A majority of 16 against Government, more than any of them expected. A magnificent speech of Gladstone; Palmerston's speech is said to have been very dull in the first part, and very bow-wow in the second; not very judicious, on the whole bad, and it certainly failed to decide any doubtful votes in his favour. I rejoice that the House of Commons has condemned this iniquitous case for the honour of the country. I do not believe it will make any difference as to the Government. When Palmerston appeals to the country it will not be on the merits of the Canton case, but on his own political existence, whether they will have him for minister or no. It is not, however, yet by any means clear what the real opinion of the country is upon the question itself, and whether they will be for the right or for the expedient, or that which the Government thinks to be the expedient.

*Hatchford, March 10th.*—The intention of Government to dissolve Parliament was announced on Friday last, and as far as one can judge at present, Palmerston seems likely to have it all his own way. The press generally espouses his cause, and the 'Times' particularly takes up the cudgels for him vehemently, and cries out 'Coalition,' and abuses the majority and all who voted in it. At present, public opinion seems to be running in his favour, and there is every appearance of his having a triumphant election. But the cry of 'coalition and faction' is perfectly absurd, and nothing more than the mere jargon which all parties employ as their battle cry. There has been no coalition whatever, and that those who clamour against it very well know. The only coalition of which there has been any question has been one between Gladstone (with or without the other Peelites) and Disraeli and Derby, but that

has hitherto been *in posse* rather than *in esse*, and it would have been much more plausible to raise the cry on the Budget than on the Canton question. Nobody can read the list of the division without seeing that the majority comprised the names of people who have never dreamt of any coalition with anybody, and who voted entirely with reference to the merits of the particular case, and though some (including Disraeli and Gladstone) wished to damage the Government, many others were either friendly to them generally, or at least neutral. To say that the majority was made up of a factious coalition of men who sought to turn the Government out and to take their places, is a wilful and deliberate lie, but it suits the Government to raise the cry, and they find plenty of people to re echo and to believe it. As to the question itself, I am sure that some of the Cabinet, and probably more than I know of, were in their hearts and consciences as much against the question as any of their opponents. Palmerston's popularity, and the manner in which he is encouraged and supported by the country, and the sympathy he finds are really most extraordinary. It provokes me, because I think his great success unmerited, but I have no wish to see him defeated at the election, because I see no prospect of any better Government being formed. The pretension of the Government and of their noisy supporters to find fault with the House of Commons for expressing its independent opinion upon the conduct of the officials in China is most preposterous and arrogant. Everybody admits that the Government was not morally responsible for what was done, but because they chose, without any necessity, to approve those acts and to accept the political responsibility of them, it is pretended that the House of Commons ought not to have taken the liberty to express any adverse opinion on the matter, and that it was factious to do so. The scrape, if it was one, the Government got themselves into by their precipitate approval of Bowring, and there was nothing in the resolution and the vote which ought to have been considered as implying any general want of confidence on the part of the House of Commons,

more particularly when the Government had just before carried their Budget by large majorities, and had not met with any difficulty or rebuff on any point. If, indeed, matters are come to such a pass, and such divinity hedges in the Palmerston Government that the House of Commons is to be precluded from censuring any transaction, wherever and by whomsoever done, which the Government thinks fit to sanction and approve of, and if the fact of many men of very different opinions and opposite parties concurring in such a vote is to expose the majority by which the vote is carried to a charge of faction, coalition, and all sorts of base motives, then indeed, instead of asking the Duke of Wellington's celebrated question, 'How is the King's Government to be carried on?' it will be time to ask whether the Queen's Government is to be considered despotic and infallible, and the functions of the House of Commons reduced to the very humble ones of registering their acts and re-echoing their approbation.

It seems to be entirely forgotten that in times when the Royal and ministerial authority were much stronger than they are supposed to be now, and before the Reform Bill had effected a sort of revolution in favour of the democratic principle, all governments, however powerful or popular, sustained occasional defeats and were obliged to submit to them, it being of course perfectly understood that defeats which conveyed want of confidence and the withdrawal of the general support of the House of Commons were to be deemed fatal and conclusive. Every case of this kind must be determined according to the especial circumstances of it, but it is a mere pretence to treat the Canton question as one of this description, and the truth is that it is a dodge on their part, and a pretext for going to the country and obtaining a majority, as they think they have an opportunity of doing, on false pretences and by means of a vast deal of humbug. The worst is, that after the immediate purpose has been answered, there is certain to be some dangerous reaction, and as the cry of 'Palmerston' will be the only one got up for the occasion, and everybody will be acceptable who will declare for

him, whatever crotchet or cry he may join to his partisanship, we shall probably have a House of Commons full of all sorts of mischievous people stirring every variety of mischievous question.

*March 14th.*—I returned yesterday from Hatchford and find the current still running strong, but some think a reaction in favour of John Russell has already begun. He stands for the City and is in very good spirits, though his chances of success do not look bright; but he is a gallant little fellow, likes to face danger, and comes out well in times of difficulty.

*March 24th.*—The dissolution took place on Saturday, and all the world is busy about the elections; many places are without candidates, or with very bad ones, and unable to find good ones. The dinner at the Mansion House the other day to the Ministers was a sort of triumph to Palmerston, who was rapturously received and cheered. He made a very bad speech, but which did very well for such an audience. It was full of claptraps and reiterations of the exploded charges of coalitions, &c., which he is not ashamed to harp upon, and in his address to Tiverton he talks of the ‘combination only formed last session’ to turn him out. I find myself, *malgré moi*, thrown back into my old state of antagonism towards Palmerston, and what is very paradoxical, I am so without any hostility to his Government or any desire for its being overthrown, for I cannot descry any chance of a better, or, indeed, any possibility of forming another able to carry on affairs at all; but I am inexpressibly disgusted at the egregious folly of the country at his being made such an idol in this ridiculous way, and at the false and hypocritical pretences upon which this dissolution has been founded, and the enormous and shameful lying with which the country is deluged. I long to write, print, and publish the truth, and to expose this miserable delusion; but I repress the desire, because I cannot do so without exciting bitter personal animosities, probably quarrels, and I can see no reasonable hope of producing any effects which would sufficiently repay me for such consequences.

The day before yesterday Pemberton Leigh gave judgement in the Privy Council in the case of Liddell and Westerton ; the Judicial Committee reversed in great measure the judgements in the Courts below of Dr. Lushington and Sir John Dodson but not entirely. It was a very able judgement, and prepared with great care and research, and so moderately and fairly framed that it was accepted unanimously by the Committee, and even by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, both Low Churchmen. It was drawn up by Pemberton Leigh himself, and its publication will give the world in general some idea of his great ability, with the extent of which few are acquainted. It is a very singular thing that in such times as these, and when there is such a dearth of able men and so great a demand for them, that he should voluntarily condemn himself to a state of comparative obscurity, and refuse to take the station in public life which it would be difficult to find any other man so well qualified to fill.

*March 28th.*—At Althorp the last two days. Palmerston's address to Tiverton, following his speech at the Mansion House, has excited great indignation in all who are not thorough Palmerstonians. Both were full of deception and falsehood. John Russell is particularly incensed, and said these two productions were unworthy of a gentleman, and so they were. Malmesbury has addressed to Palmerston a letter in the newspapers on the subject, which though not well written is true, and fully justified by what Palmerston said ; but all this signifies very little, the current is too strong to be opposed, and it is provoking to see the Conservatives endeavouring to bolster up their pretensions by saying they would have supported Palmerston on the China question, if they had been in Parliament, or promising to support him if they are elected. Yesterday, which was the first day of returns, does not give much difference ; today is the polling for the City, and nobody has an idea how the election will go, whether Lord John will come in, and if he does which of the four will go to the wall. He was enthusiastically received yesterday, and the show of hands was unanimous

in his favour, but this proves very little, and his organisation is miserably defective ; had it been better and begun earlier, it is probable that his success would have been certain ; he is the favourite as it is. Palmerston's speech at Tiverton yesterday was less objectionable than his address and speech at the Mansion House, and he left himself entirely unscathed on the subject of Reform, and rightly. The Parliament promises to be a Radical one, and I fully expect that the result of all this great commotion will be to give a stimulus to organise Reform ; nor will it surprise me if Palmerston should find it conducive to his interest as minister to appear in the character of a Reformer, if he were to fling overboard all his old opinions, and to pay this price for a renewed lease of his own power. Wilkes used to say he had never been a *Wilkite*, but Palmerston has never been anything but a Palmerstonian, and I firmly believe that at seventy-three years of age his single thought is how to secure for himself power for his life, and that he will not scruple to accept measures which, so far as he thinks about it, he believes to be constitutionally dangerous and mischievous, if by so doing he can maintain himself on the Treasury Bench.

*March 29th.*—Great excitement yesterday in the town, particularly at Brooks's. The most interesting event was the City election, and the return, which under the circumstances may be called triumphant, of John Russell, which was made more agreeable to himself and his friends by the defeat of Raikes Currie, who came from Northampton on purpose to turn him out. Up to the last hour John Russell continued to lead at the head of the poll, after which he fell off and only ended third, but still he had 7,000 votes after having been assured by his old adherents (J. Abel Smith in particular) that his success was hopeless, that he would be beaten 'disgracefully,' and probably would have hardly any votes at all.

After this the most interesting events were the defeats of the Manchester men, and generally, though not universally, of the voters for Cobden's motion, Bright and Milner Gibson, Cobden, Ricardo, Layard, all defeated. It seems that Man-

chester and the other great towns had got tired of their leaders, who had made themselves unpopular by their opposition to the war. I am sorry for the loss of Bright and Cobden, because such able men ought not to be ousted and replaced by mediocrities.

Palmerston's speech at Tiverton was in the same style, but far less offensive and objectionable than his address and his Mansion House harangue. The most remarkable part of it was the total silence which he observed as to his intention upon reforms and domestic questions generally, or rather his positive refusal to say a word on the subject or to pledge himself in any way ; he evidently means to meet his Parliament free to take any course his interests may dictate. There was one remarkable speech yesterday, considering what the man is who uttered it. Vernon Smith at Northampton spoke as follows : 'Mr. Disraeli said Lord Palmerston was the Tory chief of a Radical Cabinet. I do not admit the description as regards Lord Palmerston, but I accept the designation as to the Cabinet of which I am a member. A great statesman once said that parties were like fishes (it was snakes, I believe), and their heads were propelled by their tails, and it will very likely be found that the head of the Government will in like manner be propelled by his tail.' The words are not exact, but the meaning is, and it must be owned a remarkable declaration for a Cabinet Minister to make as to his chief, and such a chief. I believe that it will turn out to be the truth. The returns so far as they have gone are frightful, and a deluge of Radicalism and violence will burst out in the House of Commons. There will be a Radical majority prepared to support Lord Palmerston and to keep him in power, but on the condition of his doing their bidding, and consenting to their demands, nor will he be able to help himself. He will no doubt try to do as little as possible, but there will be no strong Conservative party to which he can appeal from and against his own Radical supporters ; the Conservatives will be too weak to help him, and probably will not be inclined to help him out of his difficulty

if they could. At his age his only object will be to grasp power while he lives. *Après moi le déluge* will be his motto, and my expectation is that he will never consent to sacrifice power from scruples or upon principles, and will consent to anything that may be necessary rather than allow himself to be outbid and to see power torn from his hands. The prospect seems to me tremendous. The cry of Palmerston, and nothing but Palmerston, has done very well to go to the hustings on, but having accomplished its purpose, other cries much more serious will soon take its place, and we shall see, as the Prince said, Constitutional Government on its trial with a vengeance.

*March 31st.* —The elections continue to be unfavourable to the Conservatives, but the people at Brooks's and the Government generally are too sanguine when they call everything gain to them where a Conservative is replaced by a Liberal, for in many cases the so-called Liberal is a violent Radical, very likely to give much more trouble to the Government than the Conservative who was turned out. The gains to Government up to this time (and the borough elections are all over) are calculated at 20, making a difference of 40 votes; but the Conservatives do not admit this, and will make other calculations with different results.

There is no denying the fact, however, that a strong sense has been evinced of partiality for Palmerston and resentment against the China vote. The news of the Emperor of China having ordered Yeo to make peace on any terms comes very opportunely, but nothing can be so absurd as the pretence that by so doing the Emperor himself condemns his Viceroy and justifies our conduct at Canton. It only proves that His Majesty is very much alarmed, and wishes to heal the breach as quickly as possible, and on any terms he can. I am bound to say that many people, not extravagant either, maintain that this promises to be a very good Parliament, and by no means so dangerous as my fears have pictured it to myself; still I cannot look upon it as a safe and innocent Parliament. Cardwell's defeat at Oxford proves how low the Peelites are.

Frederic Peel's loss of his seat is a great inconvenience to the Government, and one does not see how it is to be repaired, for it is almost impossible in these days to treat any place (if one can be found) as a nomination borough, turn the sitting member out, and put him in instead. The serious part of it is that he has to move the Army Estimates, and nobody else can do it now.

Old Lady Keith is dead, at some prodigious age. She was the 'Queeny' of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale's daughter, and was the last surviving link between those times and our own, and probably the only person surviving who could remember Johnson himself and his remarkable contemporaries or who had lived in intimacy with them.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Results of the Elections—Defeat of Cobden and Bright—The War with China—Death of Lady Ashburton—Lord Palmerston's Success—The Handel Concerts—M. Fould in London—The Queen and Lord Palmerston—The Indian Mutiny—The Prince Consort—Death of General Anson—The State of India—Royal Guests—The Government of India—Temper of the House of Commons—Debates on India—Royal Visits—The Divorce Bill—The Divorce Bill in the House of Lords—Close of the Session—A Dukedom offered to Lord Lansdowne—Death of Mr. Croker—History of the Life Peerages—The Indian Mutiny and the Russian War—The Struggle in India—Reinforcements for India—The Queen's Attention to Public Business—Attacks on Lord Canning—Big Ships and Big Bells—Lord Canning defended—Courteous Behaviour of Foreign Nations—The Capture of Delhi and Lucknow—Difficulties in India—Depression in the City—Speculations on the Contingency of a Change of Government—The East India Company and the Government—Exaggerated Reports from India—A Queen's Speech—The Bank Charter Act.

*April 4th, 1857.*—The elections are drawing to a close. It is strange that what ought to be a matter of fact is made matter of opinion, for while the Whigs of Brooks's and the Liberals generally claim an immense gain, the Conservatives and the Carlton Club and their organs only admit an inconsiderable loss. There can be no doubt, however, that a great many Conservatives have lost their seats, and a great many Radicals and Palmerstonians have been elected. At Brooks's they insist that it will be a very good Parliament, and they are throwing their caps up at the Government successes; but it seems to me that they are reckoning somewhat rashly, and counting as gains to the Government many men who will be found more troublesome and unmanageable than the moderate men

over whose defeats they are exulting. But as to gains and losses, and all calculations, I agree with the late Speaker, Lord Eversley, who said to me the other day that nothing could be so fallacious as all such calculations, and that it is impossible to know the result till Parliament meets, and it is seen how the new members group themselves. The most striking and remarkable feature of this election is the complete rout of the Peelites and of the Manchester men, the Old Leaguers. For a long time past it has been absurd to talk of the Peelites as a Party. There were not a dozen men in the House of Commons who could by any possibility be so designated, and in fact only a few formerly members of Sir Robert Peel's Government or of Lord Aberdeen's, who still kept together, and were called Peelites, because they would not be either Whigs or Tories or Radicals. Now the designation must fall to the ground. Half these men have lost their seats ; of the rest, some repudiate the association and announce their independence ; some join, or are ready to join, Derby and the Tories ; others openly declare their adhesion to Palmerston ; and thus in one way or another there are no *Peelite*s left.

The fate of Bright, Cobden and Co. exhibits a curious example of the fleeting and worthless nature of popular favour. They who were once the idols of millions, and not without cause, have not only lost all their popularity, but are objects of execration, and can nowhere find a parliamentary resting place. No constituency will hear of them. The great towns of Lancashire prefer any mediocrities to Bright and Cobden. It seems that they had already ceased to be popular, when they made themselves enormously unpopular, and excited great resentment, by their opposition to the Russian War, the rage for which was not less intense in Manchester and all the manufacturing district than in the rest of the kingdom. This great crime, as it appeared in the eyes of their constituents, was never pardoned, and their punishment was probably determined while the war was still going on. As the favour of Cobden fell, so that of Palmerston rose, and his visit to Manchester

a few months ago raised the favour to a pitch of enthusiasm. When Cobden therefore originated the China motion, he no doubt gave great offence, and he sealed his own condemnation. Bright has been long abroad, and has done nothing lately that any one could take umbrage at, but his opposition to the war has not been forgotten or forgiven, and when Cobden appeared at Manchester as his representative, and made a very able speech in his behalf, it is highly probable that his advocacy was in itself fatal to his re-election. It seems quite clear that another man, Sir Elkanah Armytage, lost his election at Salford solely because he was strongly supported and recommended by Cobden.

*May 1st.*—Parliament met yesterday, the last (Irish) election having ended only a few days before. Denison's election as Speaker went off very quietly. The prevailing opinion now seems to be that this will prove a good Parliament, on the whole safe and moderate, and an improvement on the last. All the news we get from China, or in reference to Chinese affairs, only proves the more strongly how foolish and mischievous the conduct of Bowring was, and what a sound and correct judgement the vote of the House of Commons expressed upon it. It is impossible to conjecture what the result of the war now begun will be, but it is quite certain that we shall have to wade to our ends through all sorts of horrors and atrocities, which it does not become us to inflict, though the Chinese are a savage, stupid, and uninteresting people, who in some degree deserve the sufferings that will be inflicted on them, though perhaps not at our hands.

George Anson<sup>1</sup> writes to me from India that there is a strange feeling of discontent pervading the Indian Army from religious causes, and a suspicion that we are going to employ our irresistible power in forcing Christianity upon them. It is not true, but the natives will never be quite convinced that it

<sup>1</sup> [General Anson was at this time Commander-in-Chief in India. He died there shortly after the outbreak of the great military revolt, of which the letter mentioned in the text was the first premonitory indication.]

is not, as long as Exeter Hall and the missionaries are permitted to have *carte blanche* and work their will as they please in those regions.

*May 10th.*—I passed the last week at Wynnstay for Chester races; a very fine place. The events that have occurred in the course of the last ten days are the opening of the Manchester Exhibition, very successfully; the first proceedings of the new Parliament, which promise a quiet session and a peaceful reign to Palmerston, who has put the House in good humour by promising a Reform Bill next year; the death of the Duchess of Gloster, and, what interests the world still more, the death of Lady Ashburton.<sup>1</sup> Milnes has written a short, but very fair and appropriate notice of her for the 'Times' newspaper, which of course was intended as a eulogy, and not as a *character*, with the bad as well as the good that could be said of her. Lady Ashburton was perhaps, on the whole, the most conspicuous woman in the society of the present day. She was undoubtedly very intelligent, with much quickness and vivacity in conversation, and by dint of a good deal of desultory reading and social intercourse with men more or less distinguished, she had improved her mind, and made herself a very agreeable woman, and had acquired no small reputation for ability and wit. It is never difficult for a woman in a great position and with some talent for conversation to attract a large society around her, and to have a number of admirers and devoted *habitués*. Lady Ashburton laid herself out for this, and while she exercised hospitality on a great scale, she was more of a *précieuse* than any woman I have known. She was, or affected to be, extremely intimate with many men whose literary celebrity or talents constituted their only attraction,

<sup>1</sup> [Harriet Mary, eldest daughter of the sixth Earl of Sandwich, was married in 1828 to William Bingham Baring, afterwards second Baron Ashburton. One son, the only issue of this marriage, died in infancy. Lady Ashburton was distinguished for her wit, her social qualities, and her hospitality, which made Bath House and the Grange the centres of a brilliant literary society, well known by the records of it in the Life of Mr. Carlyle and the Autobiography of Sir Henry Taylor.]

and while they were gratified by the attentions of the great lady, her vanity was flattered by the homage of such men, of whom Carlyle was the principal. It is only justice to her to say that she treated her literary friends with constant kindness and the most unselfish attentions. They, their wives and children (when they had any), were received at her house in the country, and entertained there for weeks without any airs of patronage, and with a spirit of genuine benevolence as well as hospitality. She was in her youth tall and commanding in person, but without any pretension to good looks ; still she was not altogether destitute of sentiment and coquetry, or incapable of both feeling and inspiring a certain amount of passion. The only man with whom she was ever what could be called *in love* was Clarendon, and that feeling was never entirely extinct, and the recollection of it kept up a sort of undefined relation between them to the end of her life. Two men were certainly in love with her, both distinguished in different ways. One was John Mill, who was sentimentally attached to her, and for a long time was devoted to her society. She was pleased and flattered by his devotion, but as she did not in the slightest degree return his passion, though she admired his abilities, he at last came to resent her indifference, and ended by estranging himself from her entirely, and proved the strength of his feeling by his obstinate refusal to continue even his acquaintance with her. Her other admirer was Charles Buller, with whom she was extremely intimate, but without ever reciprocating his love. Curiously enough, they were very like each other in person, as well as in their mental accomplishments. They had both the same spirits and cleverness in conversation, and the same quickness and drollery in repartee. I remember Allen well describing them, when he said that their talk was like that in the polite conversation between Never Out and Miss Notable. Her faults appeared to be caprice and a disposition to quarrels and *tracasseries* about nothing, which, however, common amongst ordinary women, were unworthy of her superior understanding. But during her last illness all that was bad and

hard in her nature seemed to be improved and softened, and she became full of charity, good-will, and the milk of human kindness. Her brother and her sister-in-law, who, forgetting former estrangements, hastened to her sick bed, were received by her with overflowing tenderness, and all selfish and unamiable feelings seemed to be entirely subdued within her. Had she recovered she would probably have lived a better and a happier woman, and as it is she has died in charity with all the world, and has left behind her corresponding sentiments of affection and regret for her memory. I was once very intimate with her, but for a long time past our intimacy had dwindled into ordinary acquaintance.

*June 3rd.*—There is really nothing to write about, but it is evident that the session is going to pass away in the most quiet and uneventful manner. Never had Minister such a peaceful and undisturbed reign as Palmerston's. There is something almost alarming in his prodigious felicity and success. Everything prospers with him. In the House of Commons there is scarcely a semblance of opposition to anything he proposes ; a speech or two here and there from Roebuck, or some stray Radical, against some part of the Princess Royal's dowry, but hardly any attempt at divisions ; and when there have been any, the minorities have been so ridiculously small as to show the hopelessness of opposition. The only men who might be formidable or troublesome seem to have adopted the prudent course of not kicking against the pricks. John Russell evinces no hostility, and accepts Hayter's letters. Gladstone hardly ever goes near the House of Commons, and never opens his lips. There seems to be a disposition in both Houses to work and bring legislative reforms to a conclusion. The House of Lords has been very busy with the Divorce Bill, and there has been a good deal of vigorous debating, particularly among Lyndhurst, the Bishops of Oxford and London, and Campbell and Wensleydale, who hate each other, and have interchanged blows.

*June 20th.*—All this past week the world has been occupied

with the Handel Concerts at the Crystal Palace, which went off with the greatest success and *éclat*. I went to the first ('Messiah') and the last ('Israel in Egypt'); they were amazingly grand, and the beauty of the *locale*, with the vast crowds assembled in it, made an imposing spectacle. The arrangements were perfect, and nothing could be easier than the access and egress, or more comfortable than the accommodation. But the wonderful assembly of 2,000 vocal and 500 instrumental performers did not produce musical effect so agreeable and so perfect as the smaller number in the smaller space of Exeter Hall. The volume of sound was dispersed and lost in the prodigious space, and fine as it undoubtedly was, I much prefer the concerts of the Harmonic Society.

Fould<sup>1</sup> came over from Paris the other day for the purpose of going to see the Manchester Exhibition. He was received with great distinction. The Queen invited him to Windsor for Ascot, and Granville gave him a breakfast here to meet the financial notabilities whom he wanted to talk to. We had the Chancellor of the Exchequer and an ex-Chancellor (C. Wood), the Governor of the Bank, and the ex-Governor of the Bank, *cum multis aliis*. He said that their financial affairs in France were in a very healthy state, which is contrary to the general impression here.

I met Clarendon in the Park a day or two ago, and had some talk with him in the friendly and intimate tone of former times, which rejoiced my heart, because it proved that though circumstances and accidental habits had impeded our intercourse, there exist still the same feelings of regard towards me in his mind, and if our intercourse was restored again, he would probably fall into the same habit of confidence and communication which formerly existed, but which has lately been com-

[M. Achille Fould, who had made a large fortune as a banker in Paris, was one of the ablest and most honourable of the Ministers of Napoleon III. He was much attached to this country, where he had many friends, and he encouraged the Emperor in that Free Trade policy which led to the Commercial Treaty of 1860, and strengthened the ties between England and France.]

pletely interrupted. He talked of Palmerston, his position and his health, and his *rapproches* with the Queen, who is now entirely reconciled to him. She treats him with unreserved confidence, and he treats her with a deference and attention which have produced a very favourable change in her sentiments towards him. Clarendon told me that Palmerston had lately been ailing in a way to cause some uneasiness. He had had a bad leg with a sore that it had been found difficult to heal, but he appears to have got over it. This might have been very serious. Clarendon talked one day to the Queen about Palmerston's health, concerning which she<sup>\*</sup> expressed her anxiety, when Clarendon said she might indeed be anxious, for it was of the greatest importance to her, and if anything happened to him he did not know where she could look for a successor to him, that she had often expressed her great desire to have a *strong* Government, and that she had now got one, Palmerston being a really strong Minister. She admitted the truth of it. Clarendon said he was always very earnest with her to bestow her whole confidence on Palmerston, and not even to talk to others on any subjects which properly belonged to him, and he had more than once (when, according to her custom, she began to talk to him on certain things) said to her, 'Madam, that concerns Lord Palmerston, and I think your Majesty had better reserve it for your communications with him.' He referred to the wonderful change in his own relations with Palmerston, that seven or eight years ago Palmerston was full of hatred and suspicion of him, and now they were the best of friends, with mutual confidence and good will, and lately when he was talking to Palmerston of the satisfactory state of his relations with the Queen and of the utility it was to his Government that it should be so, Palmerston said, 'And it is likewise a very good thing that she has such boundless confidence in her Secretary for Foreign Affairs, when after all there is nothing she cares about so much.'

*June 28th.—I went last Saturday week to Strawberry Hill.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> [Strawberry Hill was the residence of the Countess of Waldegrave,  
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A large party of people, the Persignys, the Speaker and Lady Charlotte, &c.; it is an enjoyable villa, with its vast expanse of grass, profusion of flowers, and fine trees affording ample shade. Horace Walpole's ridiculous house is unaltered, but furbished up and made comfortable. I regret to hear that Denison does not make a very good Speaker, and that the Government think they made a mistake in putting him into the Chair. It was Palmerston's doing, who would hear of nobody else. There are several men among the Opposition who would probably have been fitter, but with the great majority the Government have they were in a manner compelled to take a man from their own party. Denison says it is owing to the laxity of Palmerston himself if things do not go on so well as they might in the House of Commons.

At Hatchford the past week, and when I got to town I was apprised of the disastrous news from India,<sup>1</sup> the most serious occurrence that has ever been in that quarter, not only from the magnitude of the events themselves as the telegraph conveys them, but because it is quite impossible to estimate the gravity of the case, nor what the extent of it may be. Till we receive the details it is idle to speculate upon it.

The Queen has made Prince Albert 'Prince Consort' by a patent ordered in Council, but as this act confers on him neither title, dignity, nor privileges, I cannot see the use of it. He was already as high in England as he can be, assuming the Crown Matrimonial to be out of the question, and it will give him no higher rank abroad, where our acts have no validity.

*July 15th.*—For the last three weeks or more all public interest and curiosity have been absorbed in the affairs of India and the great Mutiny that has broken out there, and which has to whom it had passed on the death of her second husband, the Earl of Waldegrave. It was then, and continued to be until her death in 1879, the most hospitable villa in the neighbourhood, and the constant resort of all that was distinguished in politics and in letters.]

<sup>1</sup> [The Indian mutiny broke out at Meerut on Sunday, 10th May, but the details were not known in England till nearly six weeks later. General Anson died at Kurnaul on the 27th May.]

now assumed such an alarming character. I had intended to take some notice of this, and of other matters which time and the hour have brought forth ; but, according to my bad custom, I kept putting it off, till at last all other things were driven out of my mind by the news which so unexpectedly reached us on Saturday last of the death of George Anson from a sudden attack of cholera. He was the oldest and most intimate friend I had, and almost the last surviving associate of my youth. I reserve for another moment to say a word or two of a man who, without great abilities or a great career, was too conspicuous a member of society to be passed over without some notice.

The alarm created here by the Indian news is very great, and Ellenborough (reckoned a great authority on Indian matters) does his best to increase it. The serious part of it is that no one can tell or venture to predict what the extent of the calamity may be, and what proportions the mischief may possibly assume. It is certain that hitherto the Government and the East India Company have been in what is called a fool's paradise on the subject. They have been so long accustomed to consider our Empire there as established on so solid a foundation, and so entirely out of the reach of danger, that they never have paid any attention to those who hinted at possible perils, and I don't think anybody ever foresaw anything like what has occurred, and they were disinclined to adopt any of the precautionary recommendations which would have been attended with expense, and the Press, and the public who are always led by the Press, took the same easy view of the subject. While the Russian War was going on a clamour was raised against Government for not calling away *all* the British troops in India, and sending them to the Crimea, and those who went mad about the Crimean War would willingly have left India without a single European regiment, and have entrusted all our interests to the fidelity and attachment of the Native army. Though our Government was willing enough to enter into anything that the passion of the multitude suggested, they were

not so insane as all that ; but as it is, we may consider it most providential that the mutiny did not show itself during the Russian, or indeed during the Persian war. If it had happened while we were still fighting in the Crimea, we could not have sent out the force that would have been indispensable to save India. At the present moment the interest of the public is not greater than its apprehensions and alarm. Rumours of every sort are rife, generally of the most disastrous kind, and though the mails only come at a fortnight's interval, and it is physically impossible that any intelligence should reach us during those intervals, the public curiosity is fed and excited by continual rumours, which generally circulate stories of fresh disasters and dangers. There is a disposition in some quarters to make if possible poor Anson the scapegoat, and, now that he is dead and cannot defend himself, to attribute to him and to his misconduct or laches the misfortunes that have befallen us. I know not what he may have written home to the civil and military authorities ; but, if I may judge by the tenor of his correspondence with me, I should infer that he has warned the Government against leaving India without adequate protection, and constantly urged the expediency of sending out fresh troops. I have long expected that the day would come when we should find reason for regretting our expansive policy and our going on with continual conquests and annexations.

We are overrun with Royalties present and prospective. Besides our Princess Royal's bridegroom, there are here the King of the Belgians' son and daughter, Prince Napoleon, the Queen of the Netherlands, and the Montpensiers *as Spanish Princes*, in which capacity Persigny has had to pay his court to them, and they have had to receive the Ambassador of Louis Napoleon.

*July 19th.*—Although it is impossible that any fresh accounts should have come from India, reports are rife of fresh insurrections and of all sorts of evils. Amidst all the bad news from India the good fortune is that so many of the Native troops, and not only the military, but the whole population of

the Punjab, have shown so much fidelity and attachment to the British Government. It is the strongest testimony to the wisdom and justice of our rule, and of the capacity of the natives to appreciate the benefits they derive from it, for beyond all question the introduction of European civilisation into the East, and the substitution of such a government as that of England for the cruel, rapacious, and capricious dominion of Oriental chiefs and dynasties, is the greatest boon that the people could have had conferred upon them. Our administration may not have been faultless, and in some instances it may have been oppressive, and it may have often offended against the habits and prejudices of the natives, but it is certainly very superior in every respect, and infinitely more beneficent than any rule, either of Hindoos or Mahometans, that has ever been known in India. However, people much more civilised and more sagacious than the Indians do not always know what is best for them, or most likely to promote their happiness, so it will not be surprising if these disorders should continue to increase, supposing the means of immediately and effectually suppressing them should be found wanting.

For the last week the House of Commons has presented a more animated appearance than during the preceding months of this dull and passive session. Gladstone has reappeared and proved that his oratorical powers have not been rusted by his retirement, and John Russell has come forth showing his teeth, but not yet attempting to bite the Government. Palmerston, evidently nettled by these two, as well as by Roebuck and Disraeli, has spoken with considerable asperity, and with an insolent air of superiority and defiance, which has hitherto not been usual to him, and which has given no little offence. There are evident symptoms of an approaching cessation of that humble and deferential submission to his will which has hitherto distinguished his servile majority, and though it is not clear in what way they will assert their independence, those who watch the symptoms think that he will not find the same passive disposition in the next session, and if anything should

go seriously wrong there would be open and general rebellion. Up to the present time, however, there is nothing to be seen but a certain amount of restlessness, and a disposition to find fault, and the Government seem still to command the same enormous majorities, and Palmerston to be as powerful as ever, if he is not quite so popular. A violent effort is made by a number of Liberals in the House of Commons to renew the contest with the House of Lords for the admission of the Jews (the newspapers contain all the details of this attempt), which cannot be pursued without mischievous results, and will fail in its object.

*August 2nd.*—The Civil War in India, for such it may be called, supersedes every other object of interest, and the successive mails are looked for with the utmost impatience. The Government, though anxious and nervous, are not disheartened, and as far as we can judge, the authorities in India have not been deficient in the emergency. Canning writes in good spirits, and all accounts agree in reporting that he has done his work hitherto very well. The discussions in Parliament have been on the whole creditable. Disraeli came down to the House of Commons with a long set oration, in which he entered at great length into the causes of the present confusion, and the misgovernment and bad policy which had engendered it, and although his speech was able, and probably contained a great deal that was true, it was deemed (as it was) mischievous and ill-timed, and very ill received by the House. He was rebuked with some asperity by Tom Baring, his own political adherent, and by Lord John Russell, who declared it to be the duty of the House to give every support to the Government in such a crisis. In the House of Lords Ellenborough was as mischievous and ill-disposed as Disraeli in the Commons, and was no better received. Granville administered to him a severe lecture, by no means ill done, and the House of Lords went with Granville.

Last week was passed at Goodwood, with fine weather, and the usual *fête* with the unusual accompaniment of foreign

Royalties. First the Comte de Paris for a night, and then the Queen of the Netherlands for two nights. The young French Prince is good-humoured and unpretending, the Queen is very gay, natural, and pleasing. I renewed an acquaintance I had made with her at Ems many years ago. It is a new feature in the present day the flitting about of Royal personages. Besides these I have named, the Prince Napoleon has been finishing a tour through England and part of Ireland by a visit to Osborne, and the Emperor and Empress are coming to Osborne for a week. Prince Albert has been to Brussels for the marriage of the Princess Charlotte, where he seems to have made his first experiment of the effect to be obtained from his newly acquired title of 'Prince Consort of England,' as I see that he signed the marriage contract immediately after the Queen Marie Amélie, and before an Austrian Archduke who was present.

*August 12th.*—I was at Stoke on Saturday and Sunday, and went over to see Bulstrode; surprised to find the place less *délabré*, and more capable of being restored than I expected. I passed the first fifteen years of my life there, and don't know whether the place or myself is the most changed. To feed our curiosity during the intervals between the Indian mails, the newspapers, the 'Times' especially, collect all the letters they can obtain, and publish them day by day. We have had a success in China, but I always tremble for the consequences of our successes there, lest we should be seduced or compelled into making permanent settlements and further extensions of our Empire in the East. Parliament is approaching its close, and the Government ends the session with unimpaired strength, but depending entirely on Palmerston's life, for there is nobody else capable of leading the House of Commons. There are growing symptoms of independence on the part of the House in the shape of adverse votes every now and then, principally on matters of estimates.

*August 20th.*—I have read over the few preceding pages, and am disgusted to find how barren they are of interest and how little worth preserving. They show how entirely my

social relations have ceased with all those friends and acquaintances from whom I have been in the habit of drawing the information which the earlier parts of this journal contain, and consequently my total ignorance of all political subjects. There was a time when I should have had a great deal to say upon passing events of interest or importance, but all that is gone by.

The visit of the Emperor Napoleon at Osborne seems to have been spent in discussing the affairs of the Principalities and patching up the quarrels of the Ambassadors at Constantinople. As far as outward appearances go, we do not appear to have played a very brilliant part, and the Opposition papers think they have got a good case on which to twit Palmerston, but as I do not know what has really taken place, I abstain from expressing any opinion upon the conduct of our Government.

The session of Parliament has been prolonged beyond all expectation by the vehement and acrimonious debates upon the Divorce Bill in the House of Commons, which has been very ably and vigorously fought by Bethell on one side *cum quibusdam aliis*, and Gladstone, Walpole, and Heathcote on the other. The Opposition hoped by constant obstructions to wear out the patience of Palmerston and to get the Bill put off till next session. Palmerston, however, was firmly resolved not to submit to this, and when they found that he was so determined, they contented themselves with insisting upon certain amendments, which Palmerston thought it prudent to consent to, and the spirit of compromise and concession which the Government have lately evinced has softened in some degree the asperity of the debates, and at last enabled the Government to carry the Bill. Bethell, who has fought the battle with great ability, is not a little disgusted at the concessions to which he has been forced to consent, and has done so with a solemn protest and warning with regard to the exemption clause for the clergy, which the Government have very reluctantly consented to, but on which Granville assures

me they had no option, and that if they had refused to give way they would have infallibly been beaten upon it. I dined at Richmond with Lord Lansdowne yesterday, to meet the Duchess of Orleans and the Comte de Paris. I had never seen her before. She is plain, but pleasing, and with very good manners.

*August 21st.*—The Divorce Bill having passed the House of Commons, went up to the House of Lords yesterday, when Lord Redesdale attempted to strangle it by a dodge, which he was obliged to give up in consequence of the vigorous attacks made upon him by the Ministerial side, who were supported even by St. Leonards, and particularly by an indignant and effective speech made by Lord Lansdowne, who, in spite of weakness and gout, from which he was actually suffering, spoke with extraordinary spirit. If Redesdale had persisted, and gone to a division, the Government would probably have been beaten, and the labour of half the session would have been thrown away. As it is, there is to be a fight on Monday next, the result of which depends on which side can get the greatest number to come up from the country to vote.

*September 6th.*-- Went to Worsley on Thursday last, in order to go from thence to see the Manchester Exhibition, which is very pretty, but appears diminutive after the London and Sydenham Exhibitions. Its principal attraction is in the excellent collection of pictures ; it will be a failure in a pecuniary point of view, but there are plenty of rich people in Manchester able and willing to bear the expenses. The session closed very quietly, though not without some grumbling. Some complained that Parliament should not continue to sit while the Indian troubles are going on with undiminished force, others that the Queen should go to Scotland ; but the Government have brought their labours to a close very prosperously, and Palmerston continues as powerful and as secure as ever. There is no longer the same enthusiasm there was for him, but there is a universal impression that he is indispensable, and on the whole a feeling of satisfaction and confidence in

his administration. Even I myself am compelled in candour to acknowledge that he does at least as well as anybody else would be likely to do, and no complaints can justly be made against the Government of any supineness in sending out adequate reinforcements to India. Lewis told me, just as Parliament was prorogued, that they were thoroughly impressed with the gravity of the case, and conscious of the danger, and that they were going to sent out every man they could muster here or in the Colonies, and they have already despatched troops in great numbers with remarkable celerity.

They have made some Peers, of whom the most conspicuous is Macaulay, and I have not seen or heard any complaints of his elevation. Lord Lansdowne has declined the offered Dukedom, which I rather regret, for such a public recognition of his character and services during a long life would have been graceful and becoming, and the report of it elicited from all quarters expressions of satisfaction at such an honour having been so worthily conferred.

While Macaulay is thus ascending to the House of Peers, his old enemy and rival Croker has descended to the grave, very noiselessly and almost without observation, for he had been for some time so withdrawn from the world that he was nearly forgotten. He had lived to see all his predictions of ruin and disaster to the country completely falsified. He continued till the last year or two to exhale his bitterness and spite in the columns of the 'Quarterly Review,' but at last the Editor (who had long been sick of his contributions) contrived to get rid of him. I never lived in any intimacy with him, and seldom met him in society, but he certainly occupied a high place among the second-rate men of his time ; he had very considerable talents, great industry, with much information and a retentive memory. He spoke in Parliament with considerable force, and in society his long acquaintance with the world and with public affairs, and his stores of general knowledge made him entertaining, though he was too overbearing to be agreeable. He was particularly disliked by Macaulay, who

never lost an opportunity of venting his antipathy by attacks upon him.

*Holwood, September 10th.*—I came here on Tuesday on a visit to the Chancellor.<sup>1</sup> This beautiful place formerly belonged to Mr. Pitt, and abounds in local recollections of the great Minister in the shape of ‘Pitt’s Oak,’ ‘Pitt’s Well,’ &c. It is close to Hayes, where his father, the great Lord Chatham, lived and died. Nobody is here but Pemberton Leigh.

I asked the Chancellor what was the real history of the Life Peerage last year, and he told me that it originated in his finding great inconvenience from himself and Lord St. Leonards frequently sitting together in the House of Lords without any third, and as St. Leonards invariably opposed his view of every case great injustice was often done to suitors, and he urged on Palmerston the expediency of giving them some assistance. Palmerston said it would be a good opportunity for making some Life Peers. Wensleydale was willing to retire from the Bench and to accept a Life Peerage, so it was determined to create him a Peer for life only, and they did this without the slightest idea that any objection would be made in any quarter. He owned that he regretted this design had not been abandoned at once when the storm of opposition began. I told him that I had no doubt there would have been no opposition if he had imparted the intentions of Government to some of the Law Lords, and obtained their acquiescence, for Lyndhurst would certainly not have objected, having himself told me that he meant to comply with Parke’s request to him to introduce him to the House of Lords. The Chancellor said this was very likely true, but that he had never liked the attempt to force it through the House of Lords. He thought the opposition had originated with Campbell, who had probably forgotten that he had recorded his own opinion, in his ‘Lives of the Chancellors,’ that Life Peerages would be advisable in certain cases.

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Cranworth at this time occupied Holwood as a summer residence.]

*September 22nd.*—I am just returned from Doncaster, Brétby, and Wilby. The Indian mail arrived on Monday last, just as I was starting for Doncaster. The news it brought at first appeared rather good, but when it all came out it seemed so chequered with good and evil, that it produced great despondency. Still it is a curious circumstance (which I have heard no one else remark) that, with all the deep interest universally felt on account of this Sepoy war, not only as regards our national interests, but out of feeling and sympathy for the vast numbers of our countrymen and women exposed to its horrors and dangers, it does not produce the same degree of enthusiasm as the Crimean War did, in which we had no real interest concerned, and which was only a gigantic folly on our part. People are very anxious about this war, and earnestly desire that the mutiny may be put down and punished, but they regard the war itself with aversion and horror, whereas they positively took pleasure in the war against Russia, and were ready to spend their last guinea in carrying it on. A subscription has been set on foot, but although there never was an occasion on which it seemed more probable that vast sums would be subscribed, the contributions have been comparatively small in amount, and it seems probable that a much less sum will be produced for the relief of the Indian sufferers than the Patriotic Fund or any of the various subscriptions made for purposes connected with the Crimean War. I was so struck with the backwardness of the Government in rewarding General Havelock for his brilliant exploits, that I wrote to George Lewis and urged him to press his colleagues to confer some honour upon him and promote him.

I am on the point of starting for Balmoral, summoned for a Council to order *a day of humiliation*.

*Gordon Castle, September 27th.*—I left town on Tuesday afternoon, and slept that night at York, on Wednesday at Perth, and on Thursday posted to Balmoral, where I arrived between two and three o'clock. Granville, Panmure, and Ben Stanley formed the Council. Granville told me the Queen wished that

the day appointed should be a Sunday, but Palmerston said it must be on a weekday, and very reluctantly she gave way. What made the whole thing more ridiculous was, that she gave a ball (to the gillies and tenants) the night before this Council. The outside of the new house at Balmoral, in the Scotch and French style, is pretty enough, but the inside has but few rooms, and those very small, not uncomfortable, and very simply decorated; the place and environs are pretty. In the afternoon I drove over to Invercauld with Phipps. On Friday morning came on here, by post, by rail, and by mail. Without any beauty, this is rather a fine place, and the house very comfortable.

*September 28th.*—Went to Elgin to see the fine old ruin of the Cathedral, which is very grand, and must have been magnificent. It was built in the beginning of the thirteenth century, burnt down, and rebuilt in the fourteenth. I see they have done all I wanted to have done for General Havelock. He has got a good service pension, is made Major-General and K.C.B.

*Dunrobin Castle, October 2nd.*—I came here from Gordon Castle on Wednesday, by sea from Burghead to the Little Ferry, a very tiresome way of travelling, the delays being de-testable. Have long been most desirous of seeing this place, which has quite equalled my expectations, for it is a most princely possession, and the Castle exceedingly beautiful and moreover very comfortable. I start for London to-morrow morning with a long journey before me.

The Indian news of this week as bad and promises as ill as well can be, and I expect worse each mail that comes. We are justly punished for our ambition and encroaching spirit, but it must be owned we struggle gallantly for what we have—perhaps unjustly acquired. Europe behaves well to us, for though we have made ourselves universally odious by our insolence and our domination, and our long habit of bullying all the world, nobody triumphs over us in the hour of our distress, and even Russia, who has no cause to feel anything but ill-will towards us, evinces her regret and sympathy in courteous

terms. Whatever the result of this contest may be, it will certainly absorb all our efforts and occupy our full strength and power so that we shall not be able to take any active or influential part in European affairs for some time to come. The rest of the Great Powers will have it in their power to settle everything as seems meet to them, without troubling themselves about us and our opinions. For the present we are reduced to the condition of an insignificant Power. It is certain that if this mutiny had taken place two years earlier, we could not have engaged at all in the Russian War.

*London, October 6th.*--I left Dunrobin after breakfast on Saturday morning, 3rd inst., and arrived in London on Monday (yesterday) at 11 A.M. My journey was after this wise : We (i.e. Mr. Marshall of the Life Guards, an aide-de-camp of Lord Carlisle's, who travelled from Dunrobin with me) got into the mail at Golspie and took our places to Inverness. At Tain, the first stage, we walked on, leaving the coach to overtake us. After walking three miles, and no coach coming, we got alarmed, and on enquiry of the first man we fell in with, found we had come the wrong way, and that the mail had gone on. We started on our return to Tain, and falling in with a good Samaritan in the shape of a banker in that place, who was driving in the opposite direction, he took us up in his gig, and drove us back to the inn, where we took post, and followed the mail to Inverness, where we arrived an hour after it. There we slept, and at five minutes before five on Sunday morning we were in the mail again, and arrived at Perth at six o'clock, making 117 miles in thirteen hours. In twenty minutes more we were in the mail train, and reached Euston Square safe and sound at eleven o'clock, doing the distance between Perth and London in seventeen and a half hours. I have seen a vast deal of very beautiful scenery of all sorts, but the most beautiful of all (and I never saw anything more lovely anywhere) is the road from Blair Athol to Dunkeld, which includes the pass of Killiecrankie.

I fell in with Granville and Clarendon at Watford, and got

into their carriage. Of course my first enquiries were about India, when they told me that the general impression was not quite so unfavourable as that produced by the first telegraphic intelligence. Clarendon said that if it was possible for Havelock to maintain himself a short time longer, and that reinforcements arrived in time to save the beleaguered places, the tide would turn and Delhi would fall ; but if he should be crushed, Agra, Lucknow, and other threatened places would fall with renewals of the Cawnpore horrors, and in that case the unlimited spread of the mutiny would be irrepressible, Madras and Bombay would revolt, all the scattered powers would rise up everywhere, and all would be lost. We both agreed that the next would probably be decisive accounts for weal or for woe. I told Granville afterwards that I was glad to see they had called out more militia, but regretted they had not done more, when he said that he was inclined to take the same view, from which it was evident to me that there has been difference of opinion in the Cabinet as to the extent to which the calling out of the militia should be carried. I urged him to press on his colleagues a more extensive measure. It is evident that public opinion will back them up in gathering together as great a force as possible in this emergency, regardless of expense; and at all events the course of this Government is not embarrassed and annoyed as that of another Government was three years ago in reference to the Crimean War. As a very true article in a very sensible paper set forth, the difference between then and now is, that the Government of Palmerston has fair play, while that of Lord Aberdeen never had it. The Press, and public opinion goaded and inflamed by the Press, treated the latter with the most flagrant injustice, while Palmerston and the whole Government, out of regard for him, are treated with every sort of consideration and confidence.

*London, October 19th.*—I spent last week at Newmarket. The details of the last Indian news which arrived there put people in better spirits, but they were too much occupied with the business of the place to think much about India. Returned

to town on Friday, and went to the Grove yesterday ; had some talk with Clarendon, who said Palmerston was very off-hand in his views of Indian affairs, and had jumped to the conclusion that the Company must be extinguished. At the Cabinet on Friday last he said, 'They need not meet again for some time, but they must begin to think of how to deal with India when the revolt was put down. Of course everybody must see that the India Company must be got rid of, and Vernon Smith would draw up a scheme in reference thereto.' This brief announcement did not meet with any response, and there was no disposition to come to such rapid and peremptory conclusions, but it seemed not worth while to raise any discussion about it then.

Clarendon then talked of the Court, and confirmed what I had heard before, going into more detail. He said that the manner in which the Queen, in her own name, but with the assistance of the Prince, exercised her functions, was exceedingly good, and well became her position and was eminently useful. She held each Minister to the discharge of his duty and his responsibility to her, and constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters, keeping a record of all the reports that were made to her, and constantly recurring to them, e.g. she would desire to know what the state of the Navy was, and what ships were in readiness for active service, and generally the state of each, ordering returns to be submitted to her from all the arsenals and dockyards, and again weeks or months afterwards referring to these returns, and desiring to have everything relating to them explained and accounted for, and so throughout every department. In this practice Clarendon told me he had encouraged her strenuously. This is what none of her predecessors ever did, and it is in fact the act of Prince Albert, who is to all intents and purposes King, only acting entirely in her name. All his views and notions are those of a Constitutional Sovereign, and he fulfils the duties of one, and at the same time makes the Crown an entity,

and discharges the functions which properly belong to the Sovereign. I told Clarendon that I had been told the Prince had upon many occasions rendered the most important services to the Government, and had repeatedly prevented their getting into scrapes of various sorts. He said it was perfectly true, and that he had written some of the ablest papers he had ever read.

Clarendon said he had recently been very much pleased with the Duke of Cambridge, who had shown a great deal of sense and discretion, and a very accurate knowledge of the details of his office, and that he was a much better Commander-in-Chief than Hardinge. He had been lately summoned to the Cabinet on many occasions, and had given great satisfaction there. Clarendon talked of Vernon Smith, of whom he has no elevated opinion, but still thinks him not without merit, and that at this moment it would not be easy to replace him by some one clearly better fitted. He takes pains, is rather clever, and did better in the House of Commons than anybody gave him credit for last session ; he makes himself well informed upon everything about his office, and is never at a loss to answer any questions that are put to him, and to answer them satisfactorily.

*November 2nd.*—Gout in my hand has prevented my writing anything, and adding some trifling particulars to what I have written above. In the meantime has arrived the news of the capture of Delhi, but though we have received it now a week ago we are still unacquainted with the particulars. All the advantages of the electric telegraph are dearly paid for by the agonies of suspense which are caused by the long intervals between the arrival of general facts and of their particular details. It still remains to be seen whether the results of this success turned out on the whole to be as advantageous as it appears to be brilliant. The Press goes on attacking Canning with great asperity and injustice, and nobody here defends him. Though I am not a very intimate or particular friend of his, I think him so unfairly and ungenerously treated

that I mean to make an effort to get him such redress as the case admits of, and the only thing which occurs to me is that Palmerston, as head of the Government, should take the opportunity of the Lord Mayor's dinner to vindicate him, and assume the responsibility of his acts. His 'Clemency' proclamation, as it is stupidly and falsely called, was, I believe, not only proper and expedient, but necessary, and I expect he will be able to vindicate himself completely from all the charges which the newspapers have brought against him, but in the meantime they will have done him all the mischief they can. Amongst other things Clarendon told me at 'The Grove,' he said, in reference to Canning's war against the press, that the licence of the Indian press was intolerable, not of the native press only, but the English in Bengal. Certain papers are conducted there by low, disaffected people, who publish the most gross, false, and malignant attacks on the Government, which are translated into the native languages, and read extensively in the native regiments, and amongst the natives generally, and that to put down this pest was an absolute necessity.

*November 4th.*—I have been speaking to Granville about Canning, and urged him to move Palmerston to stand forth in his defence at the Lord Mayor's dinner on the 9th. This morning he received a very strong and pressing letter from Clanricarde, in the same sense in which I had been urging him, and a very good letter, and this he is going to send to Palmerston. Clanricarde is struck, as I am, with the fact that nobody and no newspaper has said a word in Canning's favour, and he sees as I have done all the damage which has already been done to him by the long and uncontradicted course of abuse and reproach with which the press has treated him.

*Hatchford, November 8th.* Granville made a speech in defence of Canning, at a dinner given at the Mansion House to the Duke of Cambridge. He writes me word it was 'rather uphill work,' and I was told it was not very well received,

but nevertheless it produced an effect, and it acted as a check upon the 'Times,' which without retracting (which it never does) has considerably mitigated its violence. It was the first word that has been said for Canning in public, and it has evidently been of great use to him.

The most interesting event during the last few days is the failure of the attempted launch of the big ship (now called 'Leviathan'), and it is not a little remarkable that all the *great* experiments recently made have proved failures. Besides this one of the ship, there was a few weeks ago the cracking of the bell (Big Ben) for the Houses of Parliament, and not long before that the failure of the submarine telegraph in the attempt to lay it down in the sea. The bell will probably be replaced without much difficulty, but it is at present doubtful whether it will be found possible to launch the ship at all, and whether the telegraphic cable can ever be completed.

*November 10th.*—Palmerston pronounced a glowing eulogium on Canning last night at the Lord Mayor's dinner which will infallibly stop the current of abuse against him. It has already turned the 'Times.' He seems to have been induced to do this by the great pressure brought to bear on him, for otherwise he had no desire to stand forth and oppose public opinion and the press; but Clarendon, Lansdowne, and others all urged him strenuously to support Canning, and he did it handsomely enough. His speech in other respects was an injudicious one, full of jactance and bow-wow, but well enough calculated to draw cheers from a miscellaneous audience.

*November 11th.*—I was told yesterday that Palmerston's swaggering speech would produce a bad effect in France, and those whom I have spoken to agree in thinking it very ill-timed and in very bad taste. It is the more objectionable because he might have said something very different that would have been very becoming and true. He might have observed upon the remarkable good taste and forbearance which had been so conspicuous in all foreign nations towards us, even those who may be supposed to be least friendly to us, or those whom we

have most outraged by our violent and insulting language or conduct. It is at once creditable to other countries and honourable to us that no disposition has been shown in any quarter to act differently towards us, or to avail themselves of what they may suppose to be our weakness and difficulty ; but, on the contrary, the same consideration and deference has been shown to us as if there had been no Indian outbreak to absorb our resources. Our position in Europe is not only as high as ever, but no one shows any disposition to degrade or diminish it ; and while this is a gratifying homage to us and a flattering recognition of our power, it is, or at least ought to be calculated to inspire us with amicable sentiments, and to be an inducement to us to depart from the insolent and offensive tone which has so long prevailed here, and which has made England universally an object of aversion. It was of course impossible that some expressions should not be given here and there and now and then to such feelings, but on the whole we have no reason to complain, but much the contrary ; not even in Russia, whose power and pride we have so deeply wounded, and whom we have so outraged by every topic and expression of insult and injury which the bitterest hatred could suggest, has there been anything like asperity, or any rejoicing over our misfortunes.

*Frogner, November 14th.*—The news of the capture of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow excited a transport of delight and triumph, and everybody jumped to the conclusion that the Indian contest was virtually at an end. Granville told me he thought there would be no more fighting, and that the work was done. I was not so sanguine, and though I thought the result of the contest was now secure, I thought we should still have a great deal on our hands and much more fighting to hear of before the curtain could drop. But I was not prepared to hear the dismal news which arrived to-day, and which has so cruelly damped the public joy and exultation. It appears that Havelock is in great danger and the long-suffering garrison of Lucknow not yet out of their peril, for the victory of

Havelock had not been complete, the natives were gathering round the small British force in vast numbers, and unless considerable reinforcements could be speedily brought up, the condition of the British, both military and civilians, of men, women, and children, would soon again be one of excessive danger.

*The Grove, November 15th.*—I talked with Clarendon about the Government letter to the Bank<sup>1</sup> and the state of financial affairs. It is evident that Clarendon knows very little about these questions, and takes very little part in them, but he told me one curious fact. A letter which appeared about a week ago, addressed by the Emperor of the French to his Finance Minister, made a great sensation here. In it the Emperor deprecated all empirical measures for the purpose of meeting the prevailing difficulties, financial and commercial, at Paris. About a week before this Clarendon received a letter from Cowley, who said that he had been conversing with the Emperor and with Walewski on these matters, and Walewski had begged him (by the desire of the Emperor) to write to Clarendon and request the advice of the English Government as to the course he should adopt. Clarendon said that George Lewis was out of town, but as there could be no delay, he sent his private secretary to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, and requested their advice and opinion. They said it was so important they would go down to the Foreign Office,

<sup>1</sup> [On the 12th of November a letter was addressed to the Governors of the Bank of England by Lord Palmerston and Sir George Cornewall Lewis, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, empowering the Bank to exceed the limits prescribed by the Bank Act of 1844 (if necessary) to meet the demands for discount and advances on approved security. This measure was rendered necessary by the extensive failures which had recently taken place, and the severe pressure on the money market. On the 4th November discount had advanced to 9 per cent. The Issue Department made over to the Banking Department two millions in excess of the statutory amount, of which about one million was advanced to the public. On the 1st December the whole amount was repaid. Parliament was summoned to pass a Bill of Indemnity, and public confidence was restored.]

which they did, when they told Clarendon that their advice was that the Emperor should insist on the Bank of France following as nearly as possible the example of the Bank of England, to keep their rates of discount high, and to avoid all rash experiments of any kind. He wrote to Cowley accordingly, who communicated the answer, and judging from the dates it would appear that the Emperor's letter was the consequence of the advice so tendered. But Clarendon seemed to think that the appearance of the Government letter was rather awkward, and would appear to the French Government very inconsistent with our communication to them. However, it will probably be easy to afford satisfactory explanations on this head. The measure itself here has apparently had the desired success, and they hope the panic and distress will gradually subside, without any more mischief happening. Lewis thinks that the best mode of dealing with Peel's Act will be to retain it, but to give a power to the Queen in Council to relax it in the same manner as has been now twice done by the interposition of Government, whenever an urgent necessity should arise, and I suppose this is the course that will be adopted, though not without a great deal of discussion and diversity of opinion. I have hitherto said nothing about the very curious and important state of affairs in America and in this country, because I am too ignorant of financial questions to talk about them, and I have not been apprised of any facts beyond what all the world knows that it was worth while to record, but this anecdote of the French Government and our own appears sufficiently curious to have a place in this book.

*November 17th.*—A council was held yesterday at Windsor to summon Parliament, where I found the ministers much dejected at the news from India. There was a letter from Colin Campbell, expressing great alarm at the position of Outram and Havelock, whom he thought to be in a great scrape, though without any fault of theirs, and there was also a report from Sir John Lawrence that affairs were in a ticklish state in the Punjab, and expressing a great anxiety for reinforcements,

which he had very little prospect of getting; in short, the apparently bright sky in which we were rejoicing only a few days ago seems to be obscured by black clouds, and the great result to be as uncertain as ever.

I met Clarendon at dinner this evening, when he told me that affairs were in a bad state in the City, and that Lewis had received very unsatisfactory accounts, so that it is not clear that the Government letter is producing the good which at first seemed to be following from it. There is a good deal of uneasiness in the financial and commercial world and no confidence. The very prudence of the trading community in arresting the course of production is becoming a source of distress, for already vast numbers of people are out of employment, or working short time with reduced wages. The prices of everything are falling, consumption will be diminished, and the revenue must be diminished likewise, while our expenses cannot but be increased by the war. A general cry is getting up for making India pay for the expense of this Indian war, which, even supposing it to be just and reasonable, will make the ultimate settlement of the Indian question more difficult, and a measure little calculated to reconcile the native population to our rule. Then, as if we had not embarrassments enough on our hands, America is going to add to them, for President Buchanan, who hates England with a mortal antipathy, threatens to repudiate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty upon the pretence that we have not abided by its conditions, and if he proposes to the Senate to declare it null and void, the Senate will do so at his bidding. This would be a flagrant violation of good faith, and of the obligations by which all civilised nations consider themselves bound. If this event happens, it will place us in a very perplexing dilemma, especially after Palmerston's absurd bravado and confident boastings of our power, for we are not in a condition to enable us to take a high line corresponding with that lofty language, and we shall have to eat humble pie and submit to the affront. Hitherto all other nations and governments have behaved to us as well and as respectfully as

we could desire, and far more than we deserve; but if America bullies us in one instance, and we are found pocketing the affront, it is by no means improbable that other governments will begin to take advantage of our weakness, and adopt towards us a conduct injurious to our interests or a tone galling to our pride.<sup>1</sup>

*November 25th.*—Last week I went to Ampthill from Wednesday till Saturday ; on Saturday to The Grove, with the Duke of Bedford, the Lewises, Charles Villiers, and Ben Stanley. The Duke of Bedford told me he was very uneasy about his brother John, who seemed in an irritable frame of mind, and disposed to wage war against the Government when Parliament meets.<sup>2</sup> He told Sir George Grey the other day that they would not find him friendly. Clarendon told me of a conversation he had recently had with the Queen *à propos* of Palmerston's health, concerning which Her Majesty was very uneasy, and what could be done in the not impossible contingency of his breaking down. It is a curious change from what we saw a few years ago, that she is become almost affectionately anxious about the health of Palmerston, whose death might then have been an event to be hailed with satisfaction. Clarendon said she might well be solicitous about it, for if anything happened to Palmerston she would be placed in the greatest difficulty. She said that in such a case she should look to *him*, and expect him to replace Palmerston, on which Clarendon said he was glad she had broached the subject, as it gave him an opportunity of saying what he was very anxious to impress upon her mind, and that was the absolute impossibility of his undertaking such an office, against which he enumerated

[These apprehensions were unfounded. Mr. Buchanan did not seek to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with reference to the eventual construction of a passage through the Isthmus of Central America, and the neutral character of that undertaking, which is now said to be in progress by the Canal of Panama, has remained unchanged to the present time.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lord John Russell had taken office in Lord Palmerston's first Administration as Colonial Secretary, but he resigned on June 13, 1855, and remained out of office.]

various objections. He told her that Derby could not form a Government, and if she had the misfortune to lose Palmerston, nothing remained for her to do but to send for John Russell and put him at the head of the Government. She expressed her great repugnance to this, and especially to make him Prime Minister. Clarendon then entreated her to conquer her repugnance, and to be persuaded that it would never do to offer him anything else, which he neither would nor could accept ; that the necessity was to have a man who could lead the House of Commons, and there was no other but him ; that Lord John had consented to take a subordinate office under Lord Aberdeen, who was his senior in age, and occupied a high position, but he would never consent to take office under him (Clarendon), and the proposal he would consider as an insult. For every reason, therefore, he urged her, if driven to apply to him at all, to do it handsomely, to place the whole thing in his hands, and to give him her full confidence and support. He appears to have convinced her that this is the proper course, and he gave me to understand that if Lord John acts with prudence and moderation all the present Government would accept him for their head, and Clarendon is so anxious that this should be the turn affairs should take, that he urged me to talk to the Duke of Bedford about it, and to get him to exert all his influence with Lord John to conduct himself in such a manner as shall conduce to his restoration to office at a future time. I had only time to exchange a few words with the Duke before we parted the next morning, and we agreed that I should write him a letter on the subject which he may show to Lord John if he sees fit to do so. I went to Wrotham on Monday, and yesterday penned an epistle to be shown to Lord John, in which I set forth his position, and dilated on the great importance to himself and to the country of his conducting himself with patience and forbearance, and of his abstaining from any such vexatious opposition to the Government as might render his future union with them impossible. It remains to be seen whether my remonstrance (which I tried to

couch in terms that would not be disagreeable to Lord John) will produce any effect.<sup>1</sup>

*Hitchinbrook, November 28th.*—I came here to-day from Riddlesworth, where I have now been for the first time for twenty years. I received there two letters from the Duke of Bedford, the first telling me he should show, and the second that he had shown, my letter to Lord John. He received it graciously, saying he agreed with almost all I said, but that it was easier to give than it was to take such advice, and that he had been blamed by certain persons for not having given more opposition to the Government last year on some questions than he had done, especially to the Persian War; but I rather infer on the whole that my letter made some impression on him, though it remains to be seen how much.

The last news from India is as good as could be expected, and the current there has evidently turned. I met Martin Smith (Indian Director) at Riddlesworth, and had much talk with him about Indian affairs. It is clear that the Company do not mean to submit to be summarily extinguished without a struggle. He told me that with regard to the great subject, the sending out troops by sailing vessels instead of by steamers, which is made matter of bitter reproach against the Directors, the fault lay entirely with the Government. The Directors wanted to send 10,000 men across Egypt, and the Government would not do it. They proposed it formally to the Board of Control, who referred it to the Foreign Office, and Clarendon said it could not be done on account of certain

<sup>1</sup> [These speculations are curious, but happily the apprehensions caused by the supposed state of Lord Palmerston's health were unfounded, for with the short interval of the second Derby Government in 1858 and 1859, he continued to hold office and to discharge the duties of Prime Minister with his accustomed vigour and success until his death in October 1865, when he was succeeded by Lord Russell. At this particular moment (1857) the latent danger of the Government lay, not in the failing health of Lord Palmerston, but in an unforeseen occurrence which caused the unexpected defeat of Lord Palmerston's Ministry within four months of this date, and the accession of Lord Derby and his friends to office.]

political considerations which rendered it inexpedient, so that if the Directors could have had their own way the thing would have been done. There may have been good grounds for the refusal of the Government, but in this instance the double Government was productive only of a sacrifice of Indian to Imperial interests, and it will not be easy to draw from this transaction any argument in favour of abolishing the East India Company and the Leadenhall Street Administration.

*London, December 2nd.*—Yesterday morning Lord Sydney received a letter from Lady Canning, who said that although undoubtedly many horrible things had happened in India, the exaggeration of them had been very great, and that she had read for the first time in the English newspapers stories of atrocities of which she had never heard at Calcutta, and that statements made in India had turned out to be pure inventions and falsehoods. Yet our papers publish everything that is sent to them without caring whether it may be true or false, and the credulous public swallow it all without the slightest hesitation and doubt. Shaftesbury too, who is a prodigious authority with the public, and who has all the religious and pseudo-religious people at his back, does his utmost to make the case out to be as bad as possible and to excite the rage and indignation of the masses to the highest pitch. He is not satisfied with the revolting details with which the Press has been teeming, but complains that more of them have not been detailed and described, and that the particulars of mutilation and violation have not been more copiously and circumstantially given to the world. I have never been able to comprehend what his motives are for talking in this strange and extravagant strain, but it is no doubt something connected with the grand plan of Christianising India, in the furtherance of which the High Church and the Low Church appear to be bidding against each other ; and as their united force will in all probability be irresistible, so they will succeed in making any Government in India impossible.

B—— showed me the Draft of the Queen's Speech this

evening after dinner. Cobbett in his Grammar produces examples of bad English taken from Kings' Speeches, which he says might be expected to be the best written, but generally are the worst written documents in the world. It would be difficult to produce any former speech more deplorably composed than this one. Long sentences, full of confusion, and of which the meaning is not always clear, and some faults of grammar for which a schoolboy would be whipped. B--- was so struck by one I pointed out that he said he would beg Palmerston to alter it. If this Speech escapes severe criticism and ridicule I shall be much surprised, as I am already that George Lewis, who has so lately been a literary critic, and is a correct writer himself, should have allowed it to pass in its present shape ; and indeed the sentence he himself put in about his own business is as bad as any other part of it.

I have no idea what they mean to propose about the Bank Charter Act, but if it be what Lewis told me some time ago, to give the Queen the power of suspending the Act by Order in Council, I much doubt if they will carry such a proposal, and it appears to me on reflection thoroughly unconstitutional, and as such I expect it will be vehemently attacked by all the opponents and the quasi-opponents of Government, and indeed by all except those who are prepared to follow Palmerston with blind submission, and to vote for anything rather than allow him to be put in jeopardy. John Russell, for instance, would hardly be able to resist the temptation of falling foul of such a proposal, though he would approve of their having followed a precedent which he had himself set in a case somewhat similar, though in some respects less urgent.

## CHAPTER XV.

Opening of the Session Prevailing Distress Lord John reconciled—Ministerial Speculations—Contemplated Transfer of India to the Crown—Military Position in India—Conversation with Mr. Disraeli—Bill for the Dissolution of the East India Company—Difficulties of Parliamentary Reform—The Relief of Lucknow—Lord Normanby's ‘Year of Revolution’—Brougham's Jealousy of Lord Cockburn—Refutation of Lord Normanby's Book—The Crown Jewels of Hanover—Labour in the French Colonies—The Death of General Havelock—Gloomy Prospects in India—Inadequate Measures for the Relief of India—Lord John Russell Hostile to Government—Death of the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Disraeli suggests a Fusion of Parties—Marriage of the Princess Royal—Weakness of the Government—Excitement in France against this Country—Petition of the East India Company—Drowsiness of Ministers—Decline of Lord Palmerston's Popularity—Effect of the Orsini Attempt on the Emperor Napoleon—Opposition to the Conspiracy Bill—Review of the Crisis—Lord Derby sent for by the Queen—Refusal of the Peelites—The Catastrophe unexpected—The Defeat might have been avoided—Mismanagement of the Affair—Ministers determined to resign.

*London, December 4th, 1857.*—Parliament opened yesterday, very quietly, and at present a quiet session seems probable, but such appearances are often fallacious. The most alarming consideration is the probability of a very hard and *hungry* winter for the working classes, vast numbers of people being already out of employment. I met Sir James Shuttleworth yesterday, who knows a great deal about Lancashire, where he lives, and he told me that though the distress was considerable and threatening to increase, the conduct of the people was admirable. There was no disaffection or bad feeling towards the upper classes and employers; they seemed to have

greatly improved in good sense and reflection, and were satisfied of the sympathy felt for them, and the disposition entertained by the rich to do all in their power to alleviate the distress of the poor. And he stated (what seemed to me a curious fact) that they preferred that the time of working should be shortened, or even mills closed, rather than a general reduction in the rate of wages. This moral condition of the labouring classes is a most satisfactory sign of the times.

The Duke of Bedford has just been here, and tells me Lord John is in a better frame of mind, and has already done two sensible things. He has given notice to some of his supporters that he will have nothing to do with the organisation of any party, and he has responded to an invitation of Vernon Smith's by a promise to impart to him his opinion and advice upon Indian affairs, and the best mode of providing for the future government of that country.

*December 6th.*—John Russell has begun well in the House of Commons, and *si sic omnia* he will put himself in a good position, but it is impossible to rely upon him. At present his disposition to the Government appears friendly. I had a conversation about him and his future relations with the Government last night with B——. I infer from what dropped from him that he thinks the probability of Palmerston's breaking down is not a remote and unlikely one. I do not think he considers him broken in health, but that he thinks the strength of his intellect is impaired, and that he begins to show signs of decay to those who have the means of observing them. He particularly noticed the failure of his memory, and he said, what I have no doubt is true, that he will never be himself conscious, still less acknowledge, that his faculties are less vigorous and active than they were. What the nature and amount of the decay in him is I know not, and they will not say, but from the uneasy feeling, and these speculations as to future contingencies among his colleagues, I am sure they are prepared for something. B—— said if the case occurred there were only two men who could be Minister, Derby or Clarendon, and he fancies that John Russell might be induced to take

office under Clarendon, and he does not believe that Clarendon really means what he says, when he expresses his extreme reluctance to take the post, or that he would not in reality prefer it even to the Foreign Office. He treats his scruples as a sort of *nolo episcopari*, in which I think he is partially, but not entirely right. There can be no doubt that in the present state of affairs it is much to be desired that Palmerston should be able to go on. I was amused by a trifling incident, so very Palmerstonian, told me the other day. I have already alluded to the bad writing in the Queen's Speech, and it seems one phrase was criticised and altered in the Cabinet, but when he got back to his office he altered the alteration and made it as it was before. I am not sure that the alteration was not the one suggested by B—— upon the strength of my criticism, and that Palmerston declined to alter the passage.

*December 7th.*—I called on Lord Grey in the morning and dined with Lyndhurst in the evening, and had much talk with both of them about the pending questions, Reform, India, Bank Act. Lord Grey is bringing out a book upon Reform. Lyndhurst is decidedly against any strong and subversive measure about India, and is for improving and not upsetting the present system. Public opinion, led by the Press, has hitherto leant to the dissolution of the Company and the Directorial Government; but as time advances and the extreme difficulty of concocting another system becomes apparent, people begin to dread the idea of destroying an ancient system, without any certainty of a better one replacing it, and I think there is a general feeling of alarm at the notion of the Indian Empire being placed under the direction of such a man as Vernon Smith; more, indeed, than is quite just and called for, as his talents, though of a second-rate calibre, are not so low as is supposed, and he is not the cipher in his office he is thought to be, but is well enough acquainted with all its details, and always able to explain everything to the Cabinet clearly and correctly. But these merits, which are those of a diligent clerk, are far from being sufficient to qualify him for having the direction of an office which circumstances have rendered by

far the most important and difficult in the whole Government. Till recently the Board of Control has been looked upon as a very subordinate department, and one of mere routine, which anybody might fill. I remember when John Russell offered it to Graham some years ago, he treated the proposal as an insult.

*December 8th.*—I went to the House of Lords last night and heard for the first time Ellenborough speak—an admirable style of speaking. It was a good night for Canning. The “Times” has turned right round and defends him, finding the Government are in earnest in doing so. The account of Luck now just come by telegram is very alarming, and keeps one in a state of nervous excitement, difficult to describe.

*London, December 17th.*—Though the last advices from India were satisfactory as far as they went, it is generally understood that the next mail must bring the account of a bloody battle at or near Lucknow, in which, though no one doubts that the British will be victorious, it is certain that there will be great loss of life. Sanguine people and the Press, with hardly any exception, imagine that this anticipated victory will terminate the contest and leave only some straggling conflicts to go on for a short time longer, ending by a speedy suppression of the rebellion. In this expectation I do not share, but, on the contrary, believe it will be a protracted affair, not indeed doubtful in its ultimate result, but which will cost as much time and money and many men, for all who know anything of the matter tell us that the wear and tear in India is enormous, and that a continual stream of reinforcements must be poured into the country to keep the army in a state of efficiency. Captain Lowe, lately aide-de-camp to poor George Anson, and who was in the storm of Delhi, an intelligent officer, confirms all these notions, and he says that nothing can be more inexpedient than the scheme, propounded here with great confidence, of forming the native force, on which we are hereafter to rely, of Sikhs instead of Hindoos. He says that inasmuch as they are very brave and excellent soldiers, it would only be to place ourselves in a state of far greater danger and uncertainty, for

though the Sikhs have proved very faithful to us, and rendered excellent service, it is impossible to predict how long this humour may last, and whether circumstances may not arise to induce them to throw off our yoke and assert their own independence. It is marvellous and providential that on this occasion the Sikhs were disposed to side with us instead of against us, for if they had taken the latter course, it would have been all up and nothing could have saved us. *À propos* of this consideration he told me a curious anecdote. A Sikh was talking to a British officer in a very friendly way, and he said, ‘Don’t you think it very strange that we, who were so recently fighting against you, should be now fighting with you? and should you be very much surprised if a year or two hence you should see us fighting against you again?’

Disraeli called on me a day or two ago, when we had a political chat. He talked with much contempt of the present Government, except of George Lewis, of whom he spoke in the highest terms. He said Palmerston’s popularity was of a negative character, and, rather more from the unpopularity of every other public man than from any peculiar attachment to him; he talked bitterly of Derby’s having declined to take the Government in 1855, which he seemed to consider as an irreparable blow to his party. He is evidently not without hopes that the Government may find themselves in some inextricable difficulty about their Reform Bill, and thinks they will be incapable of concocting an India Bill which will go down with the country. He does not appear to have made up his mind what course to take on the Indian question, and it is evident that at present the Tory party have decided on nothing. The Cabinet has committed the scheme of Reform to a select number of its members as was done in 1830, but what they are doing about India I do not know. There is certainly a difference of opinion amongst them, as there no doubt is about Reform, but as little doubt that they are all agreed upon not letting their conflicting opinions break up the Government.

*December 21st.*—I called on George Lewis the day before

yesterday and had a long talk with him. He told me that Palmerston had given notice to the Chairs that the Government had come to the resolution of bringing in a Bill to put an end to their dominion, and that plan was to have an Indian Secretary of State with a Council, and the Council to have the distribution of the patronage. I was surprised to hear him say that he saw no difficulty in the settlement of the Indian question, either in passing it through Parliament or in producing a good measure which would work better than the present system, and he said he wished the other great question they had upon their hands, that of Reform, was as easy, but that the more they went into it, the more difficult it appeared. I need not enter into the details which we discussed, as the Bill is not yet settled, and in a few weeks more it will come forth. He said that the great misfortune was their having thrown out Locke King's motion this year, for if they had done what they originally intended with regard to it, they should in all probability have laid the question at rest for ten years longer at least, and he then told me a curious anecdote on this matter, giving an example of strange levity and incapacity on the part of the Government. When Locke King brought forward his motion, it was considered in the Cabinet, and they came to a unanimous resolution to let his bill be read a second time, but to oppose the amount of his franchise in Committee and raise it from 10*l.* to 20*l.*, which they had no doubt they should carry. On the very night on which the question was to be moved Lewis went down to the House of Commons with this understanding, never dreaming that any alteration was contemplated, when George Grey said to him, 'You know Palmerston is going to oppose Locke King's motion' (for leave to bring in his Bill). Lewis expressed his surprise, and asked what had happened to set aside the unanimous agreement come to in the Cabinet. Grey said there had been a dinner at Charles Wood's, at which certain Ministers were present (whom he named, but I forget if Palmerston was one), when the question had been discussed, and the result had been to make a change in their opinions,

and Palmerston had agreed that Locke King should be opposed *in limine*. This Lewis told me he regarded as a fatal error, to which they owed the dilemma in which they found themselves placed. But what struck me most was the mode of doing business of such importance, and that there should not be found a single individual to protest against it, and to resign his office rather than to submit to be so dragged through the mire ; but the present doctrine seems to be that *Palmerston's* Government must be held together at any price, and this is the more curious when it is obvious to me that his colleagues, while conscious of the difficulty of doing without him, have an exceedingly mean opinion of his intrinsic value. I told Lewis all that Disraeli had said to me about him as well as about Palmerston, when he expressed his surprise at the manner in which Disraeli had spoken of *him*, for which he was not at all prepared, but said *he estimated Palmerston at his real worth*. He told me of Harrowby's resignation on account of his health, and that his place had been offered to Clanricarde, and wanted to know if I thought Clanricarde would be objected to.<sup>1</sup> We talked of the stories which John Russell had heard of, about our being on bad terms with France, and the Emperor Napoleon out of humour with us, and of Palmerston's meditating hostile designs against Russia, all of which he said were pure fabrications, as we were on the best terms with France, and Palmerston entertained no hostile designs against Russia or any other Power. We both agreed that our hands were too full to think of any fresh quarrels or aggressions, and I found him of the same opinion as myself about our arbitrary and dictatorial system, and of the mischief it had done, and as much with reference to the slave trade as any other question.

I told him of the slave case just decided in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and of the sum of money it would cost our Government, to say nothing of the mortification.

<sup>1</sup> [The Earl of Harrowby held the office of Lord Privy Seal. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Clanricarde, which proved a very unpopular appointment.]

He said no doubt Palmerston would proclaim it to be a wrong decision, and would defend the Foreign Office and all the agents who had been concerned in the outrage.<sup>1</sup>

*Hatchford, December 26th.*—Christmas Day, usually coming in frost and snow, was yesterday like a fine day in May, the glorious weather being in unison with the general gladness at the good news from India and the tidings that Lucknow, with its wounded and its long suffering band of women and children, had been relieved at last, and for good and all. This news arrived on Christmas Eve, to make the day itself as merry as it is proverbially said to be.

Brougham has taken Normanby's book, 'A Year of Revolution,' under his protection, for what reason nobody can divine. He wrote to Mrs. Austin begging she would exert her influence with her nephew Reeve to get it noticed favourably in the 'Edinburgh Review,' that it was a good book, had the merit of being true, and that it was much approved by Louis Napoleon, who had encouraged its being translated. I had imagined Brougham was improved, but it is evident from his conduct on this occasion that he is the same man he ever was. The book contains page after page of matter the most offensive to Guizot and to Louis Philippe and his family, with which everybody is revolted, and its malice is not redeemed by literary merit or attractiveness in any shape. That Brougham should take up such a production is as unaccountable as it is,

[This refers to the case of the 'Newport,' a vessel which had been condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court at St. Helena for alleged trading in slaves, together with penalties to the amount of £3,000/ on the shippers and owners of the cargo. The Lords of the Judicial Committee reversed this sentence with costs and damages, and declared that the owners of the ship must look to the Government for their indemnity. They added that 'merchants who, having engaged only in a lawful adventure, have been subjected to an unjust and illegal sentence, are entitled to be indemnified against its consequences, and against the costs which they have incurred in obtaining its reversal, in relieving themselves from the heavy pecuniary loss which it inflicted, and from the deep stain which it cast upon their characters, and that the national honour must be vindicated at the national expense.')

indecent, for he affected to be exceedingly attached to the Orleans royalties, to be on very intimate terms with the King, and he treated Guizot with a familiarity quite at variance with good taste and propriety, and which had excited the astonishment, with no small disgust, of Guizot himself. It might have been expected that he would have resented such a production as Normanby's instead of patronising it. He told Mrs. Austin he could not himself speak to Reeve about it, since he had made the '*Edinburgh Review*' the vehicle of a personal attack upon himself. What he alluded to was, that when Lord Cockburn's life was published an article (anonymous of course) appeared in the '*Law Magazine*' in which Lord Cockburn was very ill-used, and another in reply to this, and in vindication of Lord Cockburn, but without a word against Brougham, appeared in the '*Edinburgh*.' This was what he called a personal attack upon himself. He was the author of the paper in the '*Law Magazine*', but the writer in the '*Edinburgh*' had no right to assume this, or to know anything about it, though as a matter of fact he did know, or at least had good reason to suspect, that it was penned by Brougham. It had already been settled that the '*Edinburgh Review*' should take no notice whatever of '*The Year of Revolution*', and Mrs. Austin having sent Brougham's letter to Reeve, Reeve answered it himself, utterly denying that he had made or intended to make any attack upon him, and telling him in plain terms what the general opinion is of Normanby's book.

Meanwhile Guizot writes to Reeve that the book is full of lies, and not worth notice; that he will take none of what concerns himself alone, but cannot leave uncontradicted such parts of it as relate to the King, and give utterly false statements of the relations between the King and himself. He then refers to various passages which he says are all false, and desires Reeve to show his letter to Lord Lansdowne, Granville, and me, and to anybody else he thinks fit. All this will contribute to bring Normanby into a very unpleasant dilemma about this ill-advised book, and it must be said that it is all

Clarendon's fault for his weakness and good nature in abstaining from renewing his prohibition, and when Normanby was here giving a sort of tacit consent to its appearance, although that was accompanied with a strong expression of opinion that it ought to be suppressed. And now a report has got about that before the book came out Clarendon read and approved of it, which I requested Mrs. Austin to deny in the most peremptory manner, for it was to her that this assertion had been made.<sup>1</sup>

*December 29th.*—The long-pending dispute about the Crown jewels claimed by the King of Hanover was settled the other day. The history of it is this. The late King of Hanover on the death of William IV. claimed these jewels upon the ground that they were partly belonging to the Crown of Hanover and partly had been bequeathed to him by Queen Charlotte. Our Government, on behalf of the Queen, naturally resisted the claim. After a good deal of wrangling they were at last prevailed on to name a Commission to investigate the question, and Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Langdale, and Chief Justice Tindal were appointed accordingly. After a considerable delay and a troublesome enquiry, they arrived at a conclusion, but when they were just about to give their award Chief Justice Tindal died. Lyndhurst and Langdale were divided in opinion, so no award could be given. The Chancellor, Lord Cottenham, refused to renew the Commission, and the matter has stood over ever since. In the present year, however, the Government

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Normanby had written this narrative of the events of 1847 to 1848 whilst he was Ambassador in Paris, and he proposed to publish it at an earlier period when he was still in office. But upon this coming to the knowledge of the Foreign Office, Lord Clarendon (without having read the work) intimated to Lord Normanby that he could not allow a diplomatic servant of the Crown of the first rank to publish a polemical narrative of transactions in which he had been engaged, at any rate whilst he held office. The book therefore was suppressed for some years. But when Lord Normanby had quitted office, he felt at liberty to disregard Lord Clarendon's injunction, and the book was published, to the great detriment of his own reputation.]

thought the matter ought to be decided one way or another, and they issued a fresh Commission, consisting of Lord Wensleydale, Vice-Chancellor Page Wood, and Sir Lawrence Peel (ex-Indian judge), and they have given judgement unanimously in favour of the King of Hanover, i.e. with regard to the bulk of the jewels, some few seem to have been allotted to the Queen. Lord Wensleydale came into my room at the Council Office just after they had finished their award, and told me about it. I asked him if they had decided it on *evidence* or only by a sort of rough estimate, but he said they had ample evidence, and they were all quite satisfied upon the point. Last night I asked Lord Lyndhurst about his share in the question, when he told me their difficulty had been to make out whether the jewels which Queen Charlotte had disposed of by her will had really been hers to leave, or whether she had only had the use of them, but that this had been decided by the discovery of George III.'s will, in which he expressly left them to her. Tindal entirely agreed with Lyndhurst, and if he had lived a little longer, judgement would have been given then in favour of Hanover. Lyndhurst said the Court was very anxious about it, for Prince Albert had told him the pearls were the finest in Europe. The value of them has been enormously exaggerated, but is still considerable. Lord Lyndhurst said they were worth about 150,000*l.*, and Kielmansegge told me the same thing.

By the Indian papers just arrived it appears that the relief of the Residency of Lucknow and the deliverance of all who were confined in it was complete, but there was no great battle (which everybody expected), though much severe fighting, and Lucknow itself was still untaken. The mutineers, though always worsted, seem to fight better than they were thought capable of doing, and everything tends to show that the suppression of the Mutiny is still far from being accomplished.

*December 31st.*—I met Clarendon last night, who talked about the Hanoverian jewel question ; he said the Queen was very anxious to know Lord Lyndhurst's opinion upon the

award, so last night I went to his house and asked him, telling him the reason why. He said he had no doubt the award was correct ; that in their case the jewels were divided into two categories : first, those which came from George II. and were undoubtedly Hanoverian ; and secondly, those which George III. had given Queen Charlotte. They had heard counsel on both sides, but neither side chose to produce the will of George III., which they never had before them, so they were in a difficulty about these latter stones. Tindal died the day they were to have met to draw up an award. He and Lyndhurst were agreed, Langdale doubted. Lyndhurst said he had no doubt if they had had King George III.'s will, which Wensleydale and his colleagues had before them, they should all three have agreed, and to the same award.

Clarendon complained of the recent pro-slavery articles in the 'Times,' and told Delané they were calculated to encourage the French in holding to their African operations. The French Government had told us that they must have labour, but they did not care if it was black or brown, and if we would undertake to find coolies for them in the same way as Mauritius is supplied, they would give up their scheme. Clarendon said this was fair enough, but it did not get rid of the difficulty, because it was impossible to get the coolies in sufficient numbers, and that our own Colonies, which were perishing for want of labour, would complain loudly, and not unjustly, if we brought the French into competition with them, thus enhancing the difficulty and the cost of supply to themselves. The probability then is that the French will go on, and that all other nations who have the same wants will follow their example, and we shall be re-involved in endless remonstrances and squabbles under very disadvantageous circumstances.

*January 1st, 1858.*—It is worth noticing that after a year of fine weather, of which nobody can recollect the like, this first day of the New Year has opened like one of a genial spring. This nearly unbroken course of wonderful weather for about nine or ten months gives rise to many speculations as to

its cause, and no doubt there is some physical cause, although it has not yet been ascertained.

*January 5th.*—To-day the winter seems to have set in in earnest.

*January 7th.*—Not many days ago the ‘Times’ concluded an article on the Indian war in these words (it was after describing the relief of the Residence at Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell) : ‘Thus ends the Indian Mutiny of 1857 ;’ and to-day we have the news of Wyndham having been defeated by the Gwalior Force ; of Sir Colin having been obliged to quit Lucknow, *without having captured it*, in order to repair this check (which he seems to have done very effectually) and deplorable event ; of the death of Havelock, the hero of this war, who, after escaping unhurt through battle after battle, has succumbed to disease, not having lived long enough to know all that is said of him and all that has been done for him here. It is impossible not to feel the loss of this man as if he belonged to one individually, so deep is the interest which his gallantry and his brilliant career have excited in every heart.

Every account we receive only confirms the impression that this war will be a long and difficult affair, and if we are able by our military successes to put down all opposition and suppress the mutiny thoroughly, we shall have a still more difficult task to re-establish order and a quiet and regular government in the country, and this difficulty promises to be enormously increased by all that is passing here on the subject. Shaftesbury is stirring up all the fanaticism of the country, and clamouring for what he calls the *emancipation* of Christianity in India, and even the ‘Times,’ once celebrated for its strong sound sense and its fearless independence, is afraid to rebuke this nonsense, and endorses it by saying ‘we have committed great errors,’ but without explaining what it means, or giving any exemplification of the assertion. The real meaning, however, of the Exeter Hall clamour is, that we should commence as soon as we can a crusade against the religions of the natives of India, and attempt to force Christianity upon them. I begin

to have the most dismal forebodings upon this Indian question. I continue indeed to believe that by dint of enormous exertions, by a vast expenditure of money, and sending out every man we can raise and make a soldier of, we shall sooner or later conquer the mutineers and suppress the rebellion, but I expect we shall lose our Indian Empire. I may possibly not live to see the catastrophe, but those who are twenty or may be ten years younger than I am in all probability will. All our legislation is conducting us to this end. We are taking this moment of war and confusion to revolutionise our Indian Empire and Government, to root up all that the natives have been accustomed to regard with veneration, and to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon the only authority of which they know anything, and which has been the object of their fears and hopes, and sometimes of their attachment. The Government is about to hurry into this measure as if the existing system had been the cause of the present rebellion and conflict, and that the one they propose to substitute would be so much better and capable of repairing the mischief which the government of the Company has caused by its alleged mismanagement. I have no prejudice or partiality for the Company, but I believe any great change at this moment to be fraught with danger, and that the notion of improving the state of affairs by the abolition of what is called the double government is a mere delusion.<sup>1</sup>

*January 16th.*—I went to The Grange on Tuesday and returned yesterday morning, when I was met by the news of an

<sup>1</sup> [The experience of nearly thirty years has proved that these gloomy forebodings were unfounded. The Government and the condition of the Indian Empire have undergone enormous changes in that interval of time, but upon the whole the suppression of the military revolt of 1857 has placed British authority in India upon a more secure basis, the loyalty of the native princes to the Crown has increased, the native population is more enlightened and more prosperous, and the dangers which may still threaten the British Empire in India are not those which struck the mind of Mr. Greville in 1858. He himself, however, soon changed his opinion. See entry of the 12th March, *infra*.]

attempted assassination of the Emperor Napoleon, whose escape seems to have been providential.

It is since I last wrote anything here that we have received the news from India of Wyndham's defeat at Cawnpore, and of Sir Colin's subsequent victory, but we are not yet informed of the details so as to be able to pass a judgement on these events, and upon Wyndham's conduct. It may be doubted, however, whether the small defeat in the one case is not more prejudicial than the considerable victory in the other is advantageous; and the inference to be derived from the whole is to my mind of a gloomy character, for I think unless we can manage to pour into India an unceasing stream of fresh troops for an indefinite period, we shall succumb in the contest by the mere weight of numbers, and the question is, whether we shall be able to do this, which seems to me exceedingly doubtful. The Government appear never to have been sufficiently alive to the danger and the difficulties of this warfare, and have contented themselves with going on leisurely and lazily, preparing reinforcements to be sent out from time to time, but have never thought it incumbent on them to make the extraordinary efforts that the case imperatively demands.

When Parliament meets I shall be surprised if there is not before long a great storm in both Houses, and if Palmerston means to rest upon his popularity, and to endeavour to conjure it by his habitual offhand manner and assurances that they have done all they could, expecting that such assurances will be accepted as a matter of course, I think he will be greatly mistaken. In spite of all that has been said to John Russell, and his not unfriendly disposition during the short autumnal session, his patience and prudence are evidently well-nigh exhausted, and we may soon expect to see him in vehement opposition. He writes to his brother that 'he is appalled at the part he may be obliged to take in the coming session,' and he seems to be under the influence of a fresh feeling of antipathy to Palmerston. It is not unlikely that he thinks it not worth his while to wait for the chance of Palmerston's being with-

drawn from the field, and that he may as well gratify his inclination by going into Opposition, and it is likely enough that he fancies he has more influence in the House of Commons and the country than he really possesses, and may collect a party of his own, instead of being grudgingly accepted by the present Government as a matter of necessity, rather than one of choice. If this is his view, I believe he is egregiously mistaken. Lowe, whom I met at The Grange, and who knows something of both Parliamentary and public opinion, told me that John Russell would find no support in the House of Commons, where his influence was extinct, and that so far from forming a party of his own, he did not believe if Palmerston were to die to-morrow, and Lord John take his place at the head of the Government, that the Government itself would stand.

*Woburn Abbey, January 19th.* — Yesterday morning we were astounded by the receipt of a telegraphic message informing Granville that the Duke of Devonshire had been found dead in his bed.<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be more sudden and unexpected, and the immediate cause of his death is not known. At different periods of my life I have lived in great intimacy with him, but he was capricious, so the intervals were long and frequent during which we were almost strangers to each other. Spoiled by his mother as a boy, and becoming Duke of Devonshire with a colossal fortune at twenty-one years old, and besides afflicted with incurable deafness, his existence was *manqué*, and he was a disappointed and unhappy man. His abilities were of a very high order, and if he had not been relieved by his position and wealth from the necessity of exertion and disqualified by his infirmities from taking an active part in public life, he might have been a considerable and important as well as a far happier man ; but as he had unfortunately no positive tastes or active pursuits,

<sup>1</sup> [William Spencer, sixth Duke of Devonshire, born May 21, 1790, died January 17, 1858. He was Mr. Greville's second cousin, the Duchess of Portland, mother of Lady Charlotte Greville, having been the daughter of the fourth Duke of Devonshire.]

no domestic ties to engage his affections, and no public duties to occupy his mind, he was reduced to fill up the vacuum of his existence by capricious *engoulements* and frivolous society. He was very clever and very comical, with a keen sense of humour, frequently very droll with his intimate friends, and his letters were always very amusing. The Duke lived very much like a grand seigneur, hospitable and magnificent ; he was very fond of his family, and very kind to them, as he was also to those of his friends whom he took into favour, many of the poorer of whom will have great reason to regret the loss of a benefactor. There was for a long time a vague notion that some mystery attached to his birth, and that he was not really the son, or at all events not the legitimate son, of his reputed father. The idea was that Lady Elizabeth Foster (whom the Duke afterwards married as his second wife) and the Duchess had been confined at the same time at Paris, and that the latter having a girl and the former a boy, the children had been changed, the Duke being the father of both children. I always treated this story as a myth, and this opinion has been confirmed by the deposition of the woman who had received the child in her arms upon his birth, which was conclusive evidence of his legitimacy. It is remarkable that the whole of the vast property of the late Duke was in his own power. The entail was cut off upon his majority, and his father died before the estates were resettled.

*January 20th.*—The more I hear from India and about Indian affairs, and the more I read and reflect upon the subject the more desponding I become as to our future prospects there ; first, as to our means of bringing the war to a successful issue, and secondly, as to our power to govern the country and keep it quiet and contented when the first object has been accomplished.

*January 23rd.*—On arriving in town yesterday, I received a visit from Disraeli, who said he had come to consult me *in confidence*, and to ask my opinion, by which his own course would be very much influenced. I was not a little surprised at this exordium, but told him I should be glad to hear what his

object was, and that he was welcome to any opinion he wished for from me. He then began a rather hazy discourse, from which I gathered, or at least thought I gathered, that he thinks the present state of affairs very serious, and the position of the Government very precarious ; that he is meditating on the possible chances there may be for him and his party in the event of Palmerston's fall, and knowing that some sort of coalition with some other party would be indispensable to form any other Government, an idea had crossed his mind that this might be practicable with some of the most moderate of the Whigs, especially with the younger ones, such as Granville and Argyll, and he wished to know if I thought this would be possible, and whether I could be in any way instrumental in promoting it, and if I did not think so what my ideas were as to the most advisable course in order to avert the threatened Reform, and to give the country a better Government than this. This, with a great deal of verbiage and mixed with digressions about the leading men of the present day, seemed to me to be the substance and object of his talk. He professed to speak to me of his own sentiments without disguise, and with entire confidence about everything, but I cannot call to mind that he imparted to me anything of the slightest interest or importance. It would be difficult and not very interesting to write down our somewhat vague and *déroulé* conversation, but I told him that I knew very little of the dispositions of any of the men he alluded to, but I did not believe they any of them would be parties to any such combination as he looked to, or separate from their present colleagues.

*January 25th.*—We are still without any advices from India. The petition to Parliament of the East India Company, which is very able, and was written by John Mill, has produced a considerable effect in the world, and doubts are expressed in all quarters whether Government will be able to carry their Bill.

*January 26th.*—The Princess Royal's wedding went off yesterday with amazing *éclat*, and it is rather ludicrous to contrast the vehement articles with which the Press teemed

(the 'Times' in particular) against the alliance two years ago with the popularity of it and the enthusiasm displayed now. The whole thing seems to have been very successful. At the breakfast after the wedding, to which none but the Royalties were invited, the French Princes were present, which was amiable and becoming on the part of the Queen.

*January 28th.*—As the day approaches for the re-assembling of Parliament there is an increasing impression that this Government is very likely not to get through the session, and the 'Times,' which is always ready to assist in the discomfiture of a losing party, is now showing unmistakeable symptoms of its own doubts whether the Government is any longer worth supporting, and Delane told me yesterday he thought they would not remain long in office, and that it is time they should go, and he ridiculed the idea of its not being practicable to form another Government. It is absurd, but nevertheless true, that nothing has damaged Palmerston so much as his making Clanricarde Privy Seal. It was an unwise appointment, but the fault of it is grossly exaggerated. Everybody agrees that from one end of the country to another there is a feeling of universal indignation against it. Then there is a great turn in the public mind in favour of the East India Company, or rather against the Government measure, of which nothing is known, but that the result of it will be to place the Indian Empire in the hands of Vernon Smith.

*February 2nd.*—The Indian question has for the moment been superseded by the French question as it may be called, that is, by the storm which is raging in France against this country, its institutions and laws, in reference to the assassination plot of January 14.<sup>1</sup> It was well known that the French

<sup>1</sup> [It was known in France that the explosive bombs with which Orsini had attempted the life of the Emperor Napoleon were manufactured in England, and that some of the accomplices of that conspirator were still in this country, where the law could not reach them for a crime committed abroad. These facts called forth a strong hostile feeling, and England was accused of harbouring assassins. On January 20 Count Walewski addressed

Government had been urging our Ministers to adopt measures or to pass laws against the refugees and their machinations in this country ; but while this question was under discussion, we were astounded by a speech made by Persigny in reply to an address from the City, and still more by the publication in the '*Moniteur*' of certain addresses from corps or regiments of the French army to the Emperor, full of insult and menace to this country. These offensive manifestations naturally excited great indignation here, and the Press did not fail to hurl back these insults, and to retort with interest upon the persons from whom they had proceeded or who had permitted their appearance. On Sunday I spoke to Clarendon on the subject. He is very much annoyed and embarrassed by this posture of affairs, as might be expected, but more than this he is very much alarmed, more than I think he need be. I said it seemed to be that the Emperor had forgotten his usual good sense, and that he who knows this country ought to have felt that if he wishes to have anything done here, he is taking the most effectual means to prevent it by permitting the military addresses to appear in the '*Moniteur*', since in the present state of the Press this is tantamount to their being published by the Government itself. I said I could not believe that these hot and enthusiastic expressions were to be taken entirely as proofs of a passionate attachment to the Emperor's person, but that these were outbreaks of that hatred of England which sometimes slumbered, but never died. He said the Emperor felt that his alliance with this country was indispensable to him, and regretted sincerely the displays of feeling in France, but that he did not dare to repress the sentiments evinced by the army,

[a remonstrance to the British Government, which remained unanswered, and on January 23 Count Persigny spoke in strong language to a deputation from the City of London. Military addresses of a violent character from several French regiments to the Emperor were published in the *Moniteur*. On February 9 Lord Palmerston introduced a bill, called The Conspiracy to Murder Bill, making conspiracy to murder a felony. The opposition to this bill gave rise to the ensuing events and overthrew the Ministry.]

though he kept them in check as well as he could, and the truth was, as I have said above, that it was the undying animosity to us which had found a vent upon this occasion. He added that he had not blamed Morny, who could not say less than he did without being denounced by the Chamber as an inadequate exponent of its sentiments. The French, seeing how all our force is absorbed in our Indian war, think they may treat us as they please, and Clarendon fancies that if any accident were to befall the Emperor, any Government that might be able to establish itself would go to war with us as the best means of ingratiating itself with the nation and of being able to establish itself. He says they can march 50,000 men at a moment's notice to Cherbourg, where there is an abundance of war steamers ready to transport them across the channel, while we have no soldiers and no ships to defend us in case of such a storm suddenly bursting. George Lewis says that Clarendon is haunted with this apprehension, which he does not share in the slightest degree.

Though there is some truth in this account of the Emperor's position, I cannot believe that he might not have kept matters more quiet in France than he has done, if he had exerted his influence and power for that end. There can be no doubt that our international relations are upon a very unpleasant and perilous footing, and that the evil is not corrected by the fact of the two Courts being on friendly terms, by mutual interchanges of soft sawder and proofs of friendship in the shape of handsome bridal gifts from the Emperor and Empress to the Princess Royal. We are going to do something to soothe the French ; but as it will, I believe, be no more than to make that a felony which is now only a misdemeanour, it may be doubted if this will satisfy or appease them ; but it would be impossible to do more even if it were desirable, which I think it is not, and I doubt if even this slight concession will be obtained from Parliament without some strong and indignant remarks upon the tone which has been adopted towards England.

*February 3rd.*—The Directors have got Tom Baring and  
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Lord Grey to present their petition in the two Houses, and they mean to adopt the moderate and judicious course of not agitating any further, but trust to the course of events, which is now turning in their favour, and to ask for delay and a Committee. Graham, acting, I believe, independently, means to move for a Committee. John Russell intimated to him that he did not think he should support such a motion, but he has not finally determined what to do, and I rather expect he will end in voting for it. Palmerston's friends still tell him that his name is all powerful, and that he is sure of carrying through the House of Commons whatever he proposes, if the House thinks there is any possibility of a defeat leading to his resignation, and such is evidently his own opinion. In a Committee on Indian affairs and the intended bill, at which Bethell was present, on some objection or possible objection being suggested by one of the members, Palmerston said in his usual jaunty way, 'Oh, they will fall in love with our bill when they see it ;' when Bethell, in his niminy-piminy manner and simper, said, 'Oh, my dear Lord !' Granville, who told me, says it was very funny. They all seem conscious of the diminution of Palmerston's energy and power. He is always asleep, both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons, where he endeavours to conceal it by wearing his hat over his eyes. Clarendon made me laugh heartily the other day at his account of the Cabinet, where one half of them seem to be almost always asleep, the first to be off being Lansdowne, closely followed by Palmerston and Charles Wood. I remember his giving me a very droll account of Melbourne's Cabinet and of the drowsiness which used to reign there, more particularly with Melbourne himself.

*February 11th.*—I never remember Parliament meeting with much greater curiosity and excitement. The situation of the Government is generally regarded as so precarious, and the revolution in Palmerston's popularity and therefore his power is so extraordinary, that everybody is expecting some great events will occur, and the hopes of all who wish for a change and who expect to profit by it are reviving. The bill brought

in by Palmerston on Tuesday for the purpose of punishing conspirators and with a view to satisfy the exigency of the French Government made a great stir. The leave to bring it in was carried by a large majority, thanks to the Conservatives, but its success was principally owing to the Emperor's apology arriving just before the debate began. This pacified most of those who were enraged at the publications in the 'Moniteur,' and disposed to oppose the measure on account of the conduct of the French Government. I have no sympathy with such a feeling, but it is well calculated to go down with the public, and to afford a plausible pretext to the Ultra-Liberals and the crotchety politicians. The greatest objection to this bill is that it will probably be quite useless for its alleged object, and though perhaps something more stringent might be useful, the Government do not dare propose anything beyond the present measure.

Perhaps the most serious reflection to which this matter gives rise is the suspicion that the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon betrays either some strange infirmity in his faculties, or something so unsound and dangerous in the state of France, as to be pregnant with possible consequences it is frightful to contemplate. All that he has been doing, or has allowed to be done of late, is indicative of a change; for the moderation and prudence, together with firmness and decision, which have hitherto formed his best claim to the admiration and approbation of this country seem to have completely deserted him. The penal laws enacted or to be enacted in France are considered as the inauguration of a reign of terror, and there is rapidly growing up the same sort of feeling about the French Empire that there is here about the Palmerston Government. Nobody pretends to foresee what will happen, but everyone thinks that the state of France is rendered more combustible, and that any spark may produce an explosion. Those who are most attached or most favourable to the Imperial Government are the most alarmed, and, when they dare speak out, express the greatest regret and alarm at all that is passing in France.

To turn to the Government here, their two great rocks ahead are the India Bill and the Reform Bill, but with regard to these there seems no knowledge how parties will act, and how leading individuals will vote. Most people, however, are impressed with the idea that neither measure will be carried, and that the Government will in all probability not get through the session. It will be too absurd if Palmerston, after being the idol of the public, in spite of or in consequence of all his foolish speeches and his outrageous acts, should find himself deserted and his power shaken because he made Clanricarde Privy Seal ; but there can be no doubt that this appointment has had more effect than any other cause in the change of public opinion about him.

*February 14th.*—Last week saw the debates in the House of Commons about the Conspiracy Bill, and the first act of the India Bill. The first is very unpopular, but it will be carried nevertheless. John Russell has taken it up with extraordinary vehemence and anger. His opposition to it is furious, on high constitutional grounds, which appear to me absurd and uncalled for. If I were in Parliament I should be puzzled how to vote, for there is much to be said against the bill, and much against voting against it, particularly against leave to bring it in. Almost all the Tories voted with Government, and John Russell carried very few with him, and neither of his own nephews. He is more than ever exasperated against Palmerston for bringing it in. The apology tended by the Emperor, which was read to the House, reconciled a great many to the bill, but I have no notion that it will do any good, or that the French Government will be satisfied with it. After such a bill, which will certainly be carried, the British Lion must put his tail between his legs and ‘*Civis Romanus*’ give up swaggering so loftily. If Aberdeen had attempted such a measure when Louis Philippe was King and Guizot minister, what would Palmerston have said, and what would not have been the indignant outcry throughout the country ? The balance of opinion now seems to be that Government will carry their India Bill,

and the report is that they are willing, if the second reading is carried, to consent to any alterations that may be pressed upon them in Committee. Lewis seems to have made a good speech on Friday, though rather of a didactic character.

*February 20th.*<sup>1</sup>--Unless I were to write down day by day the events and the *impressions* of each day I should fail in giving anything like a picture of the time, and I regret that my indolence or other occupations have prevented my doing this. I have each day promised myself I would not neglect it, and then, failing to keep that promise (to myself), I have found some fresh occurrence sweeping away the interest, and generally the accurate recollection, of what the preceding days have produced. The varieties of the aspects of public affairs have been like the figures in a kaleidoscope, and one ought to catch each fleeting symmetrical arrangement before it is changed into some other equally fleeting in order to comprehend the rapidity and importance of the changes which are going on. Not long ago (that is, not many weeks) a vague idea began to circulate that the Government would have difficulty in getting successfully through this session, and that their power had suffered some diminution. It was thought that the India Bill and the Reform Bill would be too much for them, and when a little later the events in France induced them to bring in the Conspiracy Bill, the excessive unpopularity of this last measure strengthened the impression of their instability. Everybody out of the pale of the Government itself admitted that Palmerston was not the man he was, and the diminution of his popularity was visible universally. This was attributed to several smaller causes, but the great one was the appointment of Clanricarde, which beyond all doubt has been regarded with a

<sup>1</sup> [On February 19 the Government were defeated on the Conspiracy Bill, in the House of Commons, by a majority of 234 to 215, Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment having been carried against them. The majority consisted of 146 Conservatives, 84 Liberals. Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Mr. Cardwell, and Mr. Sidney Herbert voted against the Bill. Lord Palmerston immediately resigned.]

disgust and indignation to the last degree exaggerated and uncalled for. Such was the state of public feeling and opinion when the Parliamentary campaign opened with the discussions first of the Conspiracy Bill, and secondly of the Reform Bill. After a few days, however, a great change seemed to have taken place, though the country and the Press watched with great jealousy the progress of the Conspiracy Bill, keeping up a very loud growl of dislike to the Bill, and resentment against the French Government. In the division on the question of leave to bring in the bill the majority of the Conservatives came over to the Government, and they got a majority of the Conservatives of three to one. A few days after Palmerston brought in the India Bill, about which for a moment it was thought Baring with his amendment might run him hard, but after a very poor debate, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a very good speech, and the President of the Board of Control made no speech at all, the Government got a majority of near 150. These two victories, though the first was obtained by the aid of opponents, raised the spirits of the Ministerialists, and were generally taken as indicative of more strength than they had been supposed to have, and as pretty clear proofs that Palmerston would at all events get unscathed through this session with not much diminished authority and influence.

But while they were triumphing in the fancied security which these divisions seemed to promise them, a storm was gathering, for the bursting of which they were far from being prepared, nor did they estimate its importance. The public feeling had become more and more exasperated at the Conspiracy Bill, and at the conduct of France. The first reading of the bill would not have been carried as it was, perhaps not at all, but for the *apology*, as it was called, of the Emperor, and the soothing effect of Walewski's despatch carrying expressions of his master's regret and a sort of half disclaimer of the military addresses. But this soothing effect was very transitory. It was remarked that while the '*Moniteur*' continued to insert

fresh addresses of an offensive character, the apologetic despatch did not appear at all, and the original despatch of Walewski (January 20), which had excited so much indignation here, and which was not denied to have been the origin of the Conspiracy Bill, lay upon the table of the House of Commons unanswered by our Government. On this point a good deal of surprise and anger had been evinced in the Press and in society, and the discontent against the Government generally, and Palmerston in particular, was still spreading, when Milner Gibson took advantage of the prevailing temper, and moved a resolution in the shape of an amendment to the second reading of the bill, very skilfully concocted, but which was a direct vote of censure upon the Government (particularly of course directed against Palmerston and Clarendon) for not having answered that despatch.

Palmerston, I have been assured, when he saw the terms of this amendment, perceived that it might be dangerous, and that it was well calculated to get votes; but it is certain that the Government generally were in no apprehension, and that nobody of any party (I believe literally nobody) had the least idea that any vote of censure, which of course involved the existence of the Government, had the slightest chance of being carried. I met Sir Edward Lytton at the Athenæum on Friday, just as he was going to the House, and had some conversation with him. He treated Palmerston's position as impregnable, and said he would have a very large majority that evening. So confident were the Government whippers-in that they made no exertions, and Hayter actually allowed some of his people to go away unpaired, telling them that they were quite safe, and their presence not necessary. I went to the House of Lords that evening to hear Macaulay, who was to have spoken but did not speak, and afterwards went home, hearing nothing more that night. Great was my astonishment when I read in the 'Times' this morning that Government had been beaten on Milner Gibson's motion by 19, and a few minutes after Granville came in and said that this defeat must

be conclusive, and nothing left for them but to resign. A Cabinet was held in the afternoon, at which it was decided that Palmerston should repair to Buckingham Palace with the resignations of himself and his colleagues.

*February 21st.*—Nothing more was known last night, but it was evident that Derby had been sent for in preference to Lord John, whom I met at Brooks's in the morning, and who did not expect the Queen to send for him. He told me Gladstone, he believed, and Graham, he knew, would not join Derby, and he thought neither Sidney Herbert nor Cardwell would either. As to the future, there really are *quot homines tot sententiae*. Some think Derby cannot form a Government, some that he will not try. The sanguine Palmerstonians think all other attempts will fail and Palmerston remain in power, as Lord Grey did in 1831, and some fancy he will endeavour to propitiate the House of Commons and public opinion by throwing overboard Clanricarde, to whose appointment the mischief is in great measure attributed. Such is at this moment the state of doubt and confusion which generally prevail.

*February 23rd.*—Nothing is yet known of Derby's progress except that he tried the Peelites, not one of whom would join. He sent for Newcastle from Clumber, who came up, saw him, and declined. It is evident that they mean to act in concert, except probably Graham, who has espoused John Russell, and who will not separate himself from Lord John's fortunes. There was a prevailing expectation yesterday that Derby would abandon his attempt, and that Palmerston would come back, but Derby seems quite determined to go on. The Palmerstonians certainly expect their exclusion to be of short duration, and now thinks that any Government Derby can possibly make will last long.

Never was there a great catastrophe so totally unexpected. Within a hour of the beginning of the debate no one doubted that the Government would have a majority, but Milner Gibson's speech was not concluded before it was evident that

his amendment would be carried, and Palmerston's conduct was very unaccountable. It was clear from the tone of his speech, which was as bad as possible, feeble and intemperate, that he was aware of what was going to happen, and yet when the true state of the case was urged upon him, and he was pressed to adjourn the debate till Monday, which could easily have been done, he obstinately refused. If he had done this, there is little doubt that he would have whipped up a majority by Monday. Certainly no people ever so mismanaged their affairs. There is no excuse for their having put on the table of the House of Commons such a despatch as Walewski's, without any reply being made to it. It required no great sagacity to anticipate that such a course of proceeding could not fail to throw the House of Commons into a flame and exasperate the country, already much excited, and all the excuses they made only made their case worse, and were generally inconsistent with each other. George Grey's was the most pitiful, when he said that after the second reading an answer should be sent. Then they made shuffling statements: at one time that they had sent no answer, and that to have answered it as alone it could be answered must have increased the irritation. Then, that they had given a verbal answer, and at last it transpired that an answer had been sent in the shape of a *private* letter from Clarendon to Cowley.

There were two courses open to the Government, either of which might have been very naturally and not improperly taken. Palmerston might have announced that it was not his intention to produce any of the correspondence between the two Governments, and asked the House of Commons to place confidence in him, and allow him to take the steps he deemed best to satisfy the French Government, and at the same time vindicate the honour and dignity of this country, and if he had stated that he thought it would be injurious to the interests of peace and amity to produce any papers, it is perfectly certain he would have met with unanimous acquiescence. The only objection I have heard to this is, that the French Government

published the despatch in the 'Moniteur'; but if Palmerston had resolved upon silence here, he could have informed Cowley of his resolution, and instructed him to come to a common agreement with Walewski that they should publish nothing in the 'Moniteur,' and we should keep the correspondence from Parliament here. Not acting in this way, he ought to have sent an answer, and who can suppose that such men as Palmerston and Clarendon, whose lives have been passed in writing despatches, and who are both so remarkably expert at that work, should be unable to concoct a reply to Walewski which should be conciliatory in tone and matter, and at once suffice for the fears and exigencies of France and for the national pride and honour of England? Clarendon's private letter is said to have been excellent, and of course it must have been well adapted for its purposes. What difficulty could there have been, therefore, in converting the private into a public letter, which if it had accompanied the French letter would have pacified both the House of Commons and the country, for the Government ought not to have forgotten, as it seems they did, that the English and French Governments were not the only parties in this transaction, but there were the English Government and the House of Commons and the country, between whom accounts had to be settled. There are people who fancy that Palmerston was not sorry to be beaten on Milner Gibson's motion, thinking it better to go out upon that than upon the motion again Clanricarde on March 4 (the abolition of the Privy Seal), on which they think they certainly would have been defeated, and on which they must have resigned; but I don't think their defeat on the latter was so certain, and they might have been saved by Clanricarde's resignation before the debate came on. The conduct of those who brought forward and those who supported the vote of censure, and that of the Government in going out upon it, admits of much diversity of opinion. The friends of the Government, and those who were averse to a change, maintain that the

amendment was inexcusable, and that the House of Commons had no business to meddle with the functions of the Executive, or to express any opinion as to the propriety of answering or not a despatch which ought to have been left to the discretion of the Minister, and the ex-Ministers say that the vote made it impossible for them to do anything but resign, and that their opponents must have been fully aware that this would be the consequence of their victory.

Their conduct is inexplicable to me, for I believe they were very sorry to go out, and yet if they had wished it they might have very well stayed in. According to ancient practice any vote of censure produced resignation as a matter of course, no matter what the subject of it, but it did so because a vote of censure, and indeed any adverse vote on any important measure, implied that the House of Commons had withdrawn its confidence from the Government, the fact of which rendered it impossible for them to carry on the affairs of the country, and obliged them to resign. But it is impossible to pretend that the late vote indicated the withdrawal of the confidence of the House of Commons generally. They had had two immense majorities a few days before, and they would have had another as large a few days after if they had gone on with the bill. If I had been able to advise the Queen, I would have recommended her to refuse Lord Palmerston's resignation, and have insisted on his testing the question of confidence on the Conspiracy Bill, or on some question in which the national passions were not concerned, and he could not have refused to take this course. Even after she had sent for Derby he gave her the opportunity (though not I suppose the advice to do so), for he said she had better take another day for consideration, and then if she decided on wishing him to form a Government, he would undertake it.

*February 26th.*—I met George Lewis yesterday, and talked over with him the whole affair. He thinks that it has all been fearfully mismanaged, and that the catastrophe might have been avoided in many different ways : first, by answering the

despatch ; secondly, by doing what I have suggested, producing no papers and asking for confidence ; then by the Speaker's declining to allow the amendment to be put, as he well might have done, and as a *strong* Speaker would have done. Lord Eversley advised him to do this, and gave his strong opinion that the amendment was inadmissible. It is curious that Palmerston's overthrow should be the work of a Parliament elected expressly to support him, and immediately caused by the act of a Speaker whom he insisted upon putting in the chair, contrary to the advice of many others who thought he would prove inefficient.

I told Lewis I thought their resignation was not called for, and what I would have advised the Queen. He said the whole question was well and most calmly and dispassionately considered, and they were unanimous as to the necessity of resignation, with the sole exception of Vernon Smith, and that was without any *arrière-pensée* of returning on an anticipated failure of Derby ; that the Queen had begged Palmerston not to resign upon this vote, and he had returned to the Cabinet, and reported what she said, but they were all without exception for adhering to their resignation. Derby, too, had evidently wished to afford Palmerston an opportunity of recalling it, for he had begged the Queen to take twenty-four hours to consider of it ; but it is probable that Her Majesty, having failed to persuade Palmerston in the first instance, had thought it useless to make any further attempts.

Lewis gave me such strong reasons for their determination, that I confess they materially shook my opinion. He said there was no possibility of mistaking the feeling there was against Palmerston, which if I had been present and seen what passed in the House that night, I could not have doubted ; that the only way in which they could have stayed in was by getting somebody to move a vote of confidence, which was too dangerous an experiment, as in the present state of the House of Commons it was at least an even chance that such a vote

would not have been carried, and certain that they would have had all the great guns of all sides thundering against them. He thought Palmerston's speech had been very ill advised, and had done much harm, and that it was a mistake not to have adjourned the debate, when it was very probable that they might have had an opportunity of changing the fortune of it.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Second Derby Administration—Lord Derby's first Speech—Lord Clanricarde defends Himself—The New Ministry—Coincidences—Lord Derby's favourable Position—Opinion of the Speaker—Lord Derby's Liberal Declarations—Dinner to Mr. Buckle—Instability of the Government—Mr. Disraeli's sanguine Views—India—Prospects of the new Government—A Visit to the Duc d'Aumale—Delicate Relations with France—Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston—Irritation of the Whigs—Marshal Péliſſier Ambassador in London—The Pecheſtes and the Whigs—Failure of the India Bill—An Overture from Lord John Russell—Dissensions of the Whigs—Lord Derby resolves to remain in Office—Lord John Russell proposes to deal with the India Bill by Resolutions—Mistake of the Whigs in resigning on the Conspiracy Bill—Withdrawal of the India Bill—Policy of the Whigs in Opposition—Lord Cowley on the Relations of France and England—Strong Opposition to the Government—Lord Derby on the State of Affairs—Disunion of the Whigs—Lord Canning's Proclamation—Littlecote House—Vehemence of the Opposition—Lord Lyndhurst displeased—Debates on the Indian Proclamation—Collapse of the Debates—Triumph of the Ministry—Disraeli's violent Speech at Slough—Lord Palmerston's Discomfiture—Prospects of a Fusion—Success of the Government—Concessions to the Radicals—The Queen's Visit to Birmingham—Progress of the India Bill—The Jew Bill—The Jew Bill passed—Disturbed State of India—Baron Brunnow on the Russian War.

*London, 27th February, 1858.*—All yesterday lists of the new appointments were put forth from hour to hour, unlike each other, and proving what changes had been made during the last hours. Nobody was prepared for Bulwer Lytton having no place, and still less for Lord Stanley taking office in this Government, which must have been settled at the eleventh hour. On the whole it presents a more decent-looking affair than anybody expected, but the general impression is that it

cannot last, and must be overthrown by the mere weight of numbers, whenever the different sections of the House should unite on any question whatever. Their staff is not so despicable, but their rank and file are sadly inadequate if they are attacked in earnest.<sup>1</sup>

*March 2nd.* -Last night Derby made his statement. He was very nervous and unlike himself, scarcely audible at first, much less fluent than usual, and he spoke from notes, which I never saw him do before. It was, however, a very judicious and becoming speech. Granville and Clarendon both spoke very well, and the whole affair was very creditable and satisfactory, civil, courteous, and good-humoured on all sides. Clarendon made a very plausible defence of his own conduct in not answering Walewski's despatch, which was so good that Hardwicke crossed the House to compliment him, and said if that speech had been made in the House of Commons there would have been no division. The impression left on me is that though it was a pretty good defence, he would have exercised a sounder discretion if he had sent an answer, and that there was no difficulty in doing so. Clanricarde has

<sup>1</sup> [The Second Administration of the Earl of Derby was composed as follows :

First Lord of the Treasury . . . .	Earl of Derby
Lord Chancellor . . . .	Lord Chelmsford
Lord President . . . .	Marquis of Salisbury
Lord Privy Seal . . . .	Earl of Hardwicke
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . . .	Mr. Disraeli
Home Secretary . . . .	Mr. Walpole
Foreign Secretary . . . .	Earl of Malmesbury
Colonial Secretary . . . .	Lord Stanley
War Secretary . . . .	Colonel Peel
Board of Control . . . .	Earl of Ellenborough
Board of Trade . . . .	Mr. Henley
Duchy of Lancaster . . . .	Duke of Montrose
Admiralty . . . .	Sir John Pakington
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland . . . .	Earl of Eglinton
Chief Secretary . . . .	Lord Naas
Woods and Forests . . . .	Lord John Manners J

given notice of what the 'Times' calls favouring the House with some leaves of his autobiography. He has been advised to take this course by some of his friends and colleagues, particularly Lord Lansdowne ; but in spite of such respectable authority, I think it an ill-advised step, from which he is likely to derive little if any benefit. He is going to defend himself against something intangible, for no accuser will appear, and there is no charge which he is called upon to rebut. No doubt his appointment has been the real cause of the downfall of the Government. It is this which ruined the popularity of Palmerston. It is only fair to admit that they could not have been expected to anticipate all the hubbub it made, nor anything like it.

People are now wondering that Palmerston's fall has made so little sensation and the event fallen so flat, considering what his popularity was only a few months ago, but this proves what an unsubstantial and factitious popularity it was. Derby has done better than his predecessor in one way, for he has brought forward some new men who have a good reputation, and may distinguish themselves in Parliament, and show us that we have something to look to beyond the old worn-out materials of which everybody is tired. The first class of this Government is not worse than that of the last, and the second class is a great deal better. There are some rather curious coincidences noticeable in this smash. The majority by which the Whigs fell was nineteen. It was the same on the China question last year, and nineteen turned out Derby in 1853. Derby has been three times called on to form a Government, and each time on the 21st of February. At the present moment there appears to be a disposition to give him what is called a fair trial, but it is difficult to say how long this will last. The Whigs are in great perplexity. Some talk of Palmerston coming back again, others want to bring about a reunion between him and Lord John, and others still talk of setting them both aside and electing a new leader of the party.

*March 3rd.*—The discussion, for there was no debate, on Monday has produced a very favourable effect. Derby's speech is much admired for its calm and dignified tone, and the matter of it considered judicious and satisfactory. As an exhibition the whole proceeding is thought eminently creditable to the country, and such as must strike foreigners particularly. This is unquestionably true, and it has been a very good start for Derby. As far as one can judge in so short a time, there is a growing opinion that he ought to have fair play and no vexatious opposition, and Granville this morning told me he thought he would get on very well. Palmerston has begged Cowley not to resign, which is very honourable and becoming. There are symptoms of a disposition on the part of the 'Times' to support the new Government, and I have little doubt that they can secure this great advantage if they manage their affairs with common prudence, and set to work diligently to frame such measures of improvement and utility as will satisfy public opinion. I entreated Jonathan Peel to lose no time in dealing with the matter of the health of the soldiers and the mortality amongst them brought to light by Sidney Herbert's Committee. This alone, well and quickly done, would be of prodigious service to the new Government.

*March 6th.*—I gather from what I hear that Lord Palmerston is preparing to buckle on his armour, and to wage war against the new Government with the hope and expectation of forcing himself back into office speedily, and that the new Opposition mean to attack the new Government as quickly and as vehemently as they can. John Russell says they 'ought not to be recklessly or prematurely opposed.' Guizot, it seems, has written to Aberdeen about the 'union of all shades of Liberals' as a desideratum, to which Lord John says 'whether it be possible he knows not, but that he is an obstacle to it on our side, and Palmerston on the other.'

The Speaker, with whom I had a long talk yesterday, thinks this Government never can stand, and he says, truly enough, that though Derby and Co. did not *make* the situation which

compelled the resignation of the last, they *accepted* it with full knowledge of the consequences of their vote, and are therefore responsible. He considers that what has happened and is likely to happen is all to the benefit of the Radicals, who well know this, and rejoice at it accordingly, and he thinks Milner Gibson framed his amendment with the design of its leading to the defeat of Palmerston, and the advent of Derby to a power which he never desired to be of long duration. All this I could not gainsay, and it is certainly true that this change has only produced a fresh set of difficulties and dangers, the result of which who can foresee?

Derby's liberal declaration in his programme last Monday has been taken up and extended by his followers, but it is very improbable that the enunciation of such principles and intentions will carry with it the assent of the old and genuine Tories, many of whom will most likely ere long declare their adhesion to their old creed, and their abhorrence of the new-born liberalism of their chief, and Derby may one day find himself in a lesser degree in something like the position of Peel when he gave notice of his intention to propose the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Derby's declaration now affords a practical justification of Peel's course then, for Peel was never so much opposed to Free Trade as Derby and all his followers to Reform, and his excuse is based on similar grounds, namely, the progress and irresistible force of public opinion.

*March 10th.*—I dined with Grote yesterday to meet Mr. Buckle, the literary lion of the day. He is not prepossessing in appearance, but he talks very well and makes a great display of knowledge and extensive reading, though without pedantry or dogmatism. There was a small party of literary men to meet him, and Lady William Russell and I acted the part of gallery. The guests were Count Platen the Swedish Minister, the Master of the Rolls, Dr. William Smith, young Bunbury (Sir Henry's son), and Lowe. It was pleasant enough.

There is a prevailing and an increasing impression that

this Government will not last long, and I think its days are numbered. The old Government are evidently impatient to resume their places, and within the last two or three days there is an evident change in their spirits and their expectations. Whether it is desirable or not that Derby should be permitted to go on for some time I know not, but I doubt if it is possible. John Russell might perhaps prefer keeping Derby in place for a time, in order to prevent Palmerston's coming back, but I do not think he will be able to do so if he wishes it, and even those Liberals who are not very fond of Palmerston seem to be indignant at a Tory party holding office with an immense majority against them in the House of Commons. It is certainly a question whether any set of men have a right under any circumstances to accept office with full knowledge that there is a majority of at least two to one against them, and if one set of ministers are bound to resign, not merely on finding the majority against them, but upon a single adverse vote, *& fortiori* must another set be precluded from taking office without the power of commanding the assent and support of Parliament upon any question whatever. Sir Francis Baring writes to John Russell, 'that the *existence* of the present Ministry is contrary to Parliamentary Government,' and this seems to be the general sentiment of the Liberal party, of course loudly insisted on by those who expect to profit by ousting them.

*March 11th.*—My mind fluctuates back to a notion that the Government will be able to maintain themselves for some time. Ellice said yesterday that he for one would not join in any attempt to oust them till he saw his way to the formation of a better Government, and thinks time ought to be afforded for a reunion of the Liberal party. In the afternoon I called on Disraeli, and found him rather sanguine about their prospects. He said they should settle, in fact, had settled, the French question 'with flying colours.' He sees no difficulty about finance, as there can be no quarrels on the score of principles, and he will only have to provide for

the expenses either by some increased taxation, or, if that is opposed, by a loan, and he does not think the Palmerstonians will venture to refuse the supplies, or that they would succeed in such an attempt. His India Bill he thinks will be a better and more popular measure, and he knows of nothing else but the chapter of accidents on which they will have any serious difficulty.

Afterwards I fell in with Charles Villiers, and talked over the fall of the Government, which he attributed, as I do, to the enormous and inconceivable blunders which his friends committed. He is always sensible, unprejudiced, and the most satisfactory person to talk to I am acquainted with. John Russell is in great indignation at Disraeli's speech at his election, and his attributing all sorts of bad motives to the Whigs in their Reform of 1831, which was certainly very imprudent to say the least of it, for in his condition it was most desirable for him to avoid giving offence to any of the influential people, whose hostility may be very dangerous to him. I had not read his speech when I saw him, or I should have told him so.

*March 12th.*—It is remarkable how completely the affairs at home have superseded the interests belonging to those of India. Nobody seems to think about what so recently absorbed everyone's thoughts and feelings. This is, however, in great measure owing to the general belief that the great question of suppressing the rebellion and re-establishing our rule is virtually settled, and though we may yet have a great deal of trouble and even difficulty, all serious danger is at an end, and that we are as secure of possessing India as of any of our colonies. The apprehensions I had on the subject, and which I have expressed, have been very far from realised, and those who took more sanguine and confident views of the issue of the contest have been justified by the event.

*March 17th.*—The new Government is looking up. On Monday evening Bernal Osborne attacked Disraeli in his usual style and gave him an opportunity of making a speech in reply,

which everybody acknowledges to have been most able and successful. Berrial was very bad, Palmerston spoke feebly, professed moderate intentions towards the new Government, but clearly indicated that he meant to take office again if he could. His speech was tamely received, and furnished a fresh proof of the loss of his popularity and influence. Last night again, in a little skirmish between Disraeli and George Lewis, the former had the best of it. Clanricarde having had the egregious folly to announce to the House of Lords his intention to make 'a personal statement,' in which he was unaccountably supported by such men as George Lewis and Lansdowne amongst others, found out that everybody thought he was making a great fool of himself and withdrew it, but his colleagues are annoyed at his putting himself forward to ask questions of Derby. He sits on the front Opposition bench in the midst of his late colleagues, who would be glad to be rid of him, particularly as they know that in the event of their return to office he, would be left out.

*March 20th.*—I went on Friday with M. de Jarnac to Orleans House to pay a visit to the Duc d'Aumale and see his interesting collection of books and pictures. He is very courteous, obliging, and intelligent, and the Duchess very civil and pleasing. His house was formerly occupied by his father, Louis Philippe, improved and enlarged by Lord Kilmorey, who lived there with Miss Hoste, and bought from him by the Duke, who has filled it full of objects of historical or artistic interest, especially of memorials of the Great Condé. The family portraits, of which there is a vast collection, are particularly curious. He has two sons, who bear the fine titles of\* Prince de Condé and Duc de Guise, but it is melancholy to contemplate the *avenir* of these boys whose high birth is their misfortune, and to whom no profession or occupation seems open. They have\* lost their own country by no fault of their own, and are so situated that they cannot or will not get adopted in any other.<sup>1</sup> It is a false position if ever there was

<sup>1</sup> [Alas! both these interesting and promising young princes were cut

one. The family appear to have been alarmed by the recent events in France, and the indirect effect which those events might have upon them, for they have reason to believe that they are exposed to a constant system of *espionnage* by the French Government, who wish very much to implicate them if possible in some of the plots that they believe to be constantly going on here, and great vigilance on their part is necessary not to commit themselves in any way to unknown Frenchmen who approach under pretences of attachment to their family or to make appeals to their charity.

The other day I got a note from Lord Derby about a Council, at the end of which he earnestly begged me if I had any influence with the 'Times' to get them to abstain from writing any more irritating articles about France, for that these articles provoked the French to madness, and, as matters are, that nothing but the utmost care and moderation on both sides enabled the two Governments to go on in harmony. I accordingly sent his note to Delane, who promised to attend to it, though it was hard to leave the French press without replies. It is curious that I should be found acting a friendly part towards Derby's Government, he being of all men the one to whom I have felt the greatest political repugnance; but I am now so free from all political predilections, and regard constant changes as so objectionable, that I wish this Government to be fairly tried, especially as it appears to me quite as good as any other we are likely to have; disposed to work hard and promote good measures, and to be unable, even if they were disposed, to do any harm.

I find a disposition to carp at the settlement of the French quarrel, though without any good reason. Lord Malmesbury's letter might have been better composed, and more showy, but

off in early life, the Prince de Condé dying in New South Wales, at the outset of a journey on which he had started under the most auspicious circumstances. The Duc de Guise, then the sole surviving child and heir of the Duc d'Aumale, also died soon after the return of the Royal Family to France in 1871.]

the object was to close the quarrel in a manner that would satisfy the pride and allay the irritation of this country, without being so exacting towards France as to pique her into fresh ebullitions offensive to us, and this has been done, though it cannot be said with truth that they had settled the dispute ‘with flying colours.’ The French Government have had the last word, and exhibited some spleen, which is not very unnatural considering the part they have had to play, eating humble pie and retracting almost everything they said.

The Duke of Bedford is in town, having been urgently pressed to come up and see what he could do to effect a political reconciliation between Lord John and Palmerston, which he has certainly not effected, and probably will fail in effecting. Lord John said some months ago that he never would take office again but as Premier, but what the Whigs want is that he should join them, consent to co-operate in ousting Derby, and then to take office under Palmerston ; but if he would not do this before the present session began, much less would he be inclined to do so now. He knows very well that they are only trying to make it up with him, because they feel that they cannot do without him, and as they still prefer Palmerston, and mean to stick to him, and to come back with him as their chief, there is very little chance of any negotiation being brought to a successful issue. The best chance of the Whigs being reunited is that the present Government should take sufficient root, and stay in office long enough to show that nothing but a complete reconciliation of the Liberals of all shades and opinions can drive them out, and for this time is required. The notion the late Government cherished of being able to turn out their opponents in a very brief space is already gone, and they find that the majority of the House of Commons will be no party to such an overthrow.

*March 21st.*—The Duke of Bedford has just been here ; he has been occupied with vain attempts to bring about the reconciliation so much desired by his political friends, but without success or any hope of it ; he finds the estrangement

between Palmerston and Lord John great as ever, and even between Lord John and Clarendon, the latter complaining bitterly that Lord John 'went out of his way to insult him,' which meant that in his speech the other day he spoke civilly of Malmesbury, saying he had no doubt he would uphold the honour and dignity of the country. All this shows the excessive soreness and ill-humour of the outgoing party, and though Clarendon expresses the most unalloyed satisfaction at being out of office, it proves there is the *amari aliquid* to detract from his pleasure at being free ; and it is not unnatural that the great part he has himself had in bringing about the catastrophe should make him very sore and uneasy, and a blow has been given to his reputation the effects of which may be hereafter serious.

*March 25th.*—Marshal Pélissier is going to replace Persigny here as Ambassador, a strange choice. He is a military ruffian, who knows no more of diplomacy than he does of astronomy. Persigny goes because he cannot agree with Walewski ; I don't know the details of his dissatisfaction. His departure is regretted, as he is believed to be honest and true, and sincerely anxious to promote a good understanding between the two countries.

The Duke of Bedford has just been here ; he came from Lord Aberdeen, who tells him the Peelites are all verging towards a union with Lord John, some more, some less ; Graham is devoted to him, Sidney Herbert and Cardwell perfectly well disposed, the Duke of Newcastle gradually becoming so, and Gladstone at present the least friendly, but Aberdeen thinks is getting more friendly, and will eventually join his standard, and Aberdeen himself is doing all he can to bring about this union. He is going to speak to the Queen about it, with a view of reconciling her to Lord John without knowing how necessary it is. The Duke said he rather doubted the expediency of Aberdeen's speaking to Her Majesty, but I told him it was better he should, and very necessary to take all means to remove her feeling against Lord John. I also

told him what had passed between the Queen and Clarendon, and how he had endeavoured to persuade Her Majesty that it would be impossible for himself to be Prime Minister, and that if Palmerston failed from any cause, her only course would be to send for Lord John, and to do so frankly and graciously. I begged him to let Lord John know this, as it was so desirable to bring about a reconciliation between them, which this fact would be calculated to promote. The Duke owned it was very handsome conduct on the part of Clarendon, as it is indeed on the part of Aberdeen, after all that Lord John did in breaking up his Government ; but Aberdeen is a gentleman and a patriot, sincerely attached to the Queen, and to the best interests of the country, and while he has retired altogether from public life and the turmoil of politics, he is anxious still to excercise the great moral influence which he possesses to advance the public interests according to the dictates of his judgement and his conscience.

*Hatchford, March 30th.*—On Friday last Disraeli brought on the Government of India Bill, which Ellenborough told some of his friends would be ‘a great success,’ and which everybody expected would be an improvement on Palmerston’s. Never was there a greater failure ; the bill was received with general aversion and contempt. The Radicals, who want to keep the Government in for the present, could not stomach it, Roebuck pronounced it a sham, and Bright, who detests Palmerston, said he preferred his bill of the two. It is evidently impossible that this bill can pass, and everybody sees what a fix it places public affairs in, and what difficulties and uncertainties present themselves on all sides. The only people who are pleased are the Palmerstonians. They think that when this bill has been rejected or withdrawn theirs will pass, and this will, *ex necessitate*, compel Derby to retire and open the way to Palmerston’s return to office. They are therefore chuckling over the dilemma, but it may be without its leading to the realisation of their hopes. There are a great many men in the House of Commons, Peelites or Radicals,

principally, but also some others, who cannot endure the notion of Palmerston's coming back, and who will oppose his bill, after the other has been swept away, merely to prevent his return. What the Radicals would like is that both bills should be referred to a Select Committee, and a third bill be concocted out of the two; but this scheme would not be likely to meet with general approbation, for it would be in fact a delegation of the proper functions of government to the House of Commons. It appears not unlikely that both bills will fail and that no measure at all will pass this year. The Government people are extremely dejected at the state of affairs, but it is said they do not mean to resign upon the defeat of their bill.

Meanwhile John Russell has made a sort of overture to Granville, i.e. he sent George Byng to him on Sunday to invite him to say what he thought would be the most eligible course to adopt in the present state of affairs, and with reference to the Government bill. This was not very judicious on his part, and Granville was an odd man to select, being in a different House of Parliament, and so bound to Palmerston that he could not avoid communicating to him the overture and his reply to it. George Byng says Granville appeared a good deal surprised, but he thought rather pleased. Granville said he could give no immediate answer, but would write to him, which he did the next day, and told him George Lewis would go down to Pembroke Lodge to see Lord John. I have no idea that anything will come of this, for none of the late Cabinet can or will transfer their allegiance from Palmerston to Lord John, unless the former consents to it, and abdicates his position of chief of the Whig party, which he seems to have no thoughts of doing, and it is impossible to conciliate their rival claims and pretensions.

*April 2nd.*--A letter from the Duke of Bedford this morning says that Lord John is inclined to throw out the India Bill, as it is too bad to admit of any improvement, and that he thinks if he does this Palmerston will support him; but the Duke adds that it is rumoured that the Government will not

go out if their bill is defeated. It is easy to understand that Palmerston can desire nothing so much as that Lord John should take the lead in opposing the India Bill, and that he should support him, because in that case, and the defeat of the bill by a large majority, which probably would happen, and the Government going out, he would infallibly be sent for again, and in re-forming his Government he would no doubt invite Lord John to join it, but this would only lead to a fresh series of difficulties, and most likely to a long course of abortive negotiations. How the junction between the two leaders is to be effected it is difficult to conceive, although there are several ways in which it might be brought about, if they were disposed to make mutual concessions. The starting point might be the complete union of the whole Whig and Liberal party, which all profess to desire most anxiously, and which the mutual antipathies and disagreements of the two leaders at present prevent. If Palmerston would consent to go to the House of Lords as Premier, and to leave Lord John with a high office (India, for example) as leader in the House of Commons, something might be done. Lord John might possibly be induced to cede his claim to the highest place on this condition, but it is not unlikely that he would require more than that : first, that Clarendon should not be at the Foreign Office, which Palmerston would no doubt not agree to ; and secondly, certain places and seats in the Cabinet for the Peelites, who have recently consented to follow his standard and cast their own lots with his. Then various complications present themselves connected with these questions.

*April 4th.*—The Duke of Bedford has written to Lady Derby that her lord must make up his mind to be beaten on his India Bill, but that he hopes he will not think it necessary to resign upon it when he is. Brougham writes from Paris that the feeling against us there has been greatly exaggerated, that the Emperor *alone* is friendly to us, but that though the general sentiment is unfriendly, nobody dreams of going to war with us, nor indeed with any other Power.

*April 8th.*—Derby made a striking speech at the Mansion House the other night, which has been severely ridiculed by the ‘Times,’ but which nevertheless contained a good deal of truth. He said that there were very few questions nowadays in which different Governments *could* act differently, and he invited not only every sort of criticism, but of suggestion, as to the India Bills and measures now before Parliament. The inference deducible from his speech (and in which I have since been confirmed) is that, happen what may, he does not mean to resign, and that the Government will not go out, unless they are positively turned out. They say this unlucky India Bill was the sole work of Ellenborough, and that the democratic clauses are the result of an old fancy of his, but nobody can be desirous of admitting the paternity of such a measure.

*April 16th.*—I have been confined to the house for several days, and unable to mix in the world and hear what is going on, but have seen enough to know that there is nothing but confusion, perplexity and irritation in the political world. During the brief recess everybody was speculating about what would be done when Parliament met again, what was to be the fate of the rival India Bills, and how far the Government would be affected by the result of contests concerning them. The Government hangers-on affected to be very well satisfied with the state of affairs, and proclaimed their intention not to go out whatever might happen with regard to their bills. The Palmerstonians evidently expected that such storms would arise as the Government would not be able to weather, and that something would turn up advantageous to them. John Russell, who must be doing something, said that the Government bill was so bad that no alterations could make it tolerable, and that he was disposed to move some Resolutions, which might be the foundation of a really good measure. He concocted these Resolutions, and wrote word to the Duke that ‘he had written to George Lewis and to Macaulay, who both approved of his scheme.’ Accordingly as soon as Parliament met he announced

that Resolutions ought to be drawn up, and that he was ready to draw them up. This produced great excitement. The Government saw in this move a plank of safety for themselves, and Disraeli said he was ready to receive Lord John's Resolutions, or to draw up Resolutions of his own ; many people said that if Resolutions were to be drawn up at all, it ought to be by Government, and not by any independent member, and it was eventually settled that Disraeli was to do it. Everybody saw that this, as far as it went, was advantageous to the Government ; it gave them certainly a reprieve, and possibly an opportunity of ridding themselves of the Indian difficulty altogether for this year, and the consequence was a burst of indignation and resentment against Lord John for thus coming to their aid as it was called, and concerting such a measure (as he was accused of doing) with Disraeli himself. The 'Times' attacked him with the utmost bitterness, and there is a general clamour against him on the part of the late Government and their friends. It is not very easy to divine his true motives in this matter. To judge by the asperity with which he has spoken<sup>t</sup> of the Government bill, one would not suppose he could be moved by any purpose calculated to assist them, and I do not believe there has been any concert, direct or indirect, between them ; but as all parties agree that the Government have derived advantage from his move, the rage he has excited is not unreasonable, and the breach between him and the Palmerstonian Whigs is much widened, and become more difficult to heal. Granville, who I suppose speaks the sentiments of his colleagues, says that it is evident they could not return to office with the *same* Government exactly as before, and that it is not desirable to turn the Government out at present, even if they could, and he thinks it would not be wise to attempt to carry Palmerston's India Bill, in which it is not sure they should succeed. He thinks there *was* concert between Lord John and Disraeli, not direct, but through Horsman, and he says that George Lewis, so far from approving his Resolutions, strongly protested against them ; but it is not impossible,

to reconcile two statements which seem at first sight to be directly opposed to each other. Lord John says he imparted to George Lewis and Macaulay his *scheme* (i.e. of drawing up Resolutions), not the Resolutions themselves, while George Lewis seems to deny approval of the Resolutions; but this is only a possible solution of the apparent contradictions.

I told Granville that all that was now happening only served to confirm my original opinion, that they were wrong in resigning, and that there was no occasion for their doing so, and they now saw how difficult it was, when they had let this Government in, to get them out again, and he not only had not a word to say in reply, but all he did was rather indicative of concurrence in my opinion. In the most palmy days of party government, and when the old traditions with regard to the relations of Government with the House of Commons were in full force, it was not considered as an invariable and unavoidable necessity that a Government when beaten on an important question must go out. I recollect the Government of the day in 1815 being beaten on the Income Tax, without therefore resigning, and it is so obvious that the vote on the French despatch did not imply any general withdrawal of confidence and support, that I never shall believe they would have resigned as they did unless they had thought they should gain more strength and power by doing so without losing their places, and consequently that they were caught in a trap of their own setting.

*April 24th.*—The events of the past week have been Disraeli's Budget, which has been received with favour and excited no opposition in any quarter, and the withdrawal of the Government India Bill, which was done by Disraeli, rather unwillingly; but their maxim seems to be 'anything for a quiet life,' and they agree to whatever is proposed or opposed in any influential quarter. The general notion is that they are safe for this session, but it is a very inglorious safety. It now appears as if they would scramble and hobble on until the whole Liberal party is reunited, and a reconciliation effected between

Palmerston and John Russell, to bring about which it is clear that much exertion is being made.

While I was at Newmarket this week I had several letters from the Duke of Bedford, all bearing upon this matter. He writes on the 16th : 'I hear that the feeling against John has been very strong and that lies have been told as usual. It is said that he has been in communication with Derby indirectly through Lady Derby, and that he wrote to Disraeli. If he did, it was only on a matter of ordinary courtesy, to ask him to postpone the second reading of the India Bill, to give time for a different course which he intended to suggest and did the first day the House met. John has been left by circumstances or by his old colleagues to pursue his own independent course, and ought not to be found fault with, if he pursued that course, as he did in this instance, after conferring with the friends I named to you, and receiving their approval. No doubt his move was very successful to the Government, and helped them out of an enormous difficulty, but I can see no harm in that.' There was a great deal more about the communications between Lord John and George Lewis, which now only signifies as demonstrating the extreme difficulty of getting at the truth. It is evident that there is a great desire on the part of the Whigs to bring about a reunion with Lord John and those who follow him, in order to get the Government out, for which the rank and file are getting more and more impatient. Lewis told me last night that *they* are holding constant Cabinets which always ended with the same resolution, not to do anything, or to make any serious attack ; and they have made up their minds to acquiesce in Derby's going on through this session ; but nothing can exceed the contempt and aversion with which Lewis speaks of the Government and of all their proceedings, certainly not without reason, for there is no example of any Government consenting to hold office on terms so humiliating, and to such a powerless existence. They dare not originate anything, and they submit to everything that anybody proposes or suggests, having seemingly no object but

that of currying favour, and avoiding to give offence. The way in which Disraeli withdrew his India Bill upon a few words spoken by John Russell is a curious exemplification of their forlorn state.

Lord Cowley, whom I saw yesterday, is desirous, like everybody else, to see the end of this feeble rule ; but he thinks Palmerston's disposition is very unbending, and doubts his and Lord John's being brought together, notwithstanding that Lady Palmerston tells the Duke of Bedford that Palmerston 'has a great affection for John.' Cowley talked a great deal about French affairs and the state of things between the two countries, and he expressed great apprehensions lest Malmesbury should make too many concessions to the French Government,<sup>1</sup> which however, he meant to prevent if he could. He mentioned one or two odd things. First of all he told me that he had foreseen all the effects produced by the Walewski letter, and had done all he could to prevent its being sent, and he was amazed at Clarendon having taken it so quietly, and that he should have seen no impropriety or danger in it, but on the contrary thought it would do good. Then with regard to Walewski's other letter in reply to Malmesbury, which, objectionable as it was, had been greatly softened from the original draft, had it been despatched as at first composed by Walewski, he said it would have raised an inextinguishable flame here. Cowley said that the Emperor's nerves were shaken to pieces by the *attentat*, and he was greatly changed.

*April 29th.*—Every day the position of the Government gets worse and worse. The disposition there was to give them a fair opportunity of carrying on public affairs as well as they

[The publication of Lord Malmesbury's autobiography has proved that he was not at all disposed to make any undue concessions to the French Government, and that he acted as long as this Administration lasted in strict union with Lord Cowley. The Emperor Napoleon complained that his old friend assumed too stern an attitude towards France in the course of the events which followed in the next few months and led to the Italian War.]

could have given way to disgust and contempt at their blundering and stupidity, and those who have all along resented their attempt to hold office at all are becoming more impatient and more anxious to turn them out. There is a very temperate, but very just, article in the '*Times*' to-day, which contains all that is to be said on the subject, stated without bitterness or exaggeration. The Whigs, however, seem aware that it is not expedient to push matters to extremity, and to force their resignation, until the quarrels of the Liberal party are made up and till Palmerston and John Russell are brought together and prepared to join in taking office, and to effect this object the most strenuous efforts are making. What the pacifiers aim at is, that Palmerston should go as Premier to the House of Lords, and leave Lord John to lead the House of Commons. This is the most reasonable compromise, and one which ought to be satisfactory to both ; but even if this leading condition were agreed to, it is not certain that there might not be others presenting great obstacles to the union, such as whether Lord John would agree to join without bringing a certain number of men with him, and whether Palmerston would consent to exclude so many of his former Cabinet to make room for them. Graham, Lord John would, I suppose, certainly insist upon ; Gladstone would probably be no party to any arrangement, and he has recently evinced his extreme antipathy to Palmerston by a bitter though able review in the '*Quarterly*' on France and the late Ministry, in which he attacks Palmerston with extraordinary asperity.

Ever since he resigned Palmerston has been very active in the House of Commons, and kept himself constantly before the public, evidently with the object of recovering his former popularity as much as possible, and he made a very clever and lively speech two nights ago, which his friends praise up to the skies.

I met Derby in the Park yesterday, and soon after the Chancellor in Piccadilly, and had some talk with both of them. They were neither of them in a very sanguine mood,

and apparently well aware of the precariousness of their position. Derby attributed the state of affairs, which he owned was very bad, to the caprice and perverseness of the House of Commons, which he said was unmanageable. I did not, as I might have done, tell him that he had no right to complain of this House, and that it was the mismanagement of his own colleagues which was the cause of the evil. Lyndhurst made an extraordinary speech on the Jew Bill on Tuesday night.

*May 1st.*—Ellice flattered himself that he could get up a party in the House of Commons which would have power enough to stop the progress of the Indian measure, and to lead to a better measure next year, as well as to the formation of a Government ; and in pursuance of this scheme it was arranged that Lord Harry Vane should move the postponement of Indian legislation, and Ellice told me they should be supported by 150, and many men of note. All this went off in smoke last night. After a short debate the motion was rejected by an immense majority, and Ellice could only muster 55 people.

The hopes of those who are trying to bring Lord John and Palmerston together are damped by a letter I have received (and shown to George Byng) from the Duke of Bedford, who says : ‘I saw much of Palmerston and Lady Palmerston last week, but could see no disposition to reunion, although we came to that point more than once. I suggested to Lady Palmerston the wish of many that Palmerston should go to the House of Lords. She said that Palmerston had always entertained a great dislike to it, and hinted, or more than hinted, that he would place no confidence in John as leader of the House of Commons.’ I went to hear Professor Owen lecture yesterday. His style of lecturing is very good, but the subject (vertebrated animals) was too scientific for my ignorance.

*Savernake, May 11th.*—I have been out of town all the last week, at Chester, and came here on Saturday. While I was at Chester the Duke of Bedford sent me a note he had received

from Lord John, which looked like the beginning of a *rapprochement* between him and Palmerston, though it did not amount to a great deal, and may lead to nothing. I was obliged to return it, and was too much occupied to copy the contents of it here. I refer so often to this subject, because it appears to be the one upon which the existence of the present Government depends, for as soon as the Liberals can come to an understanding and act in concert, the doom of the Ministry will be sealed. Without their committing any great faults they seem to be falling into greater contempt every day.

The only point of attack the Opposition have found has been the affair of Canning's recent Proclamation.<sup>1</sup> Canning has not been lucky in his Proclamations, the first having been severely criticised for its clemency, and the second for its severity. The complaint against the Government is for having made public their disapproval of it and their censure of his acts. I think their disapprobation quite right, and that they were right in conveying it to Canning, but they might have refused to express any opinion or to publish or half publish any of the correspondence that passed, though it cannot be doubted that such refusal would have drawn upon them all sorts of attacks and reproaches, but it would have been the proper course for them to adopt. It is, however, certainly premature to express any definite opinion upon an act of which we are not yet furnished with an explanation.

I went yesterday to see Littlecote House, Mr. Popham's, a very curious, interesting old house, and the scene of the Wild Dayrell story and murder, the tradition of which has been often narrated, but the truth never ascertained. I saw all the rooms, including the one in which the murder is supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> [The Proclamation of March 3, addressed to the chiefs and people of Oude, is here referred to. It was strongly opposed and attacked as a wholesale measure of confiscation, before the motives and policy of the act were understood; but Lord Canning's object was to reinstate the talookdars in their possessions by a tenure under the British Crown, and subsequent events have shown that the resettlement of the conquered province was accomplished without violence or injustice.]

been committed, but they have been much altered. There is a fine old hall, hung round with the armour and buff coats of Colonel Popham's troopers, and it is a remarkable fact that they are all so small that no man of ordinary size could wear them, a clear proof that the present generation are much bigger than our ancestors of two centuries ago. King William III. slept at Littlecote for two or three nights in 1689 (while King James was at Salisbury), and he seems to have left behind him a good many papers, which have ever since been preserved in the house. There is also a large collection of miscellaneous letters of the time of the Civil War, more or less curious, which were preserved by a lucky accident. Popham told me that his father told him there was a mass of papers in an old box under the roof of the house which had better be destroyed. His son went up for the purpose, and discovered the contents of the box, saved the papers, and had them arranged in a book. I urged him to publish them, and I hope he will. I had only time to look over a few of them ; as autographs alone they are valuable.<sup>1</sup>

*London, May 13th.* Nothing ever was like the state of confusion and excitement which has prevailed here during the last fortnight, while I have been out of town, particularly on the resignation of Ellenborough, which took everybody by surprise. Before I went away the impression had become general that this Government neither could nor ought to be endured much longer, and that their repeated and enormous blunders

<sup>1</sup> [Amongst these Littlecote papers was found the correspondence of Queen Henrietta Maria with Charles I. when she went to Holland to raise money for carrying on the Civil War. These papers were purchased by the British Museum in 1884 and are now in the Egerton MSS. 2618 2621. They appear to have passed through the hands of William Clarke, Secretary to Monk, and of his son George Clarke, Judge-Advocate and Secretary for War, who died in 1737, into the family of Popham by some marriage connexion. Some of the letters have been published by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson in the 'English Historical Review,' No. iii. p. 522. It is, of course, a mistake to suppose that these papers were left at Littlecote by William III.]

made them a nuisance which must be abated. All the Liberals (except some of the extreme Radicals who wished them to stay on some time longer), however they differed on other questions, were agreed on this. Numerous meetings took place, and there was a prodigious activity of negotiation, communication, and going backwards and forwards, with a view to some general organisation and combination of attack on the unfortunate Ministry. The Duke of Bedford was brought up to see what he could do to bring Lord John and Palmerston together. Lord John joined heartily in the plan of turning the Government out, and said that *anything* was preferable to leaving them any longer in office. Clarendon, who had been informed of Lord John's peculiar grudge against him, expressed a wish to have an interview with him, which the Duke brought about. Lord John called on Clarendon, and they had a frank communication, so far as Lord John telling him all that he thought about foreign affairs, and in what he disagreed with the late Government on various questions ; but he did not allude to Vienna, which is the real gist of his grievance and the source of his hostile feeling, so that with that reticence it is not strange that they should have parted much as they met. Then Palmerston expressed a wish to have a *tête-à-tête* conversation with Lord John, which the latter assented to, but Palmerston seems to have changed his mind, and to have shrunk from it when the opportunity presented itself. Charles Wood is the man who has been constantly communicating with Lord John in behalf of the Whig Cabinet, and one day Palmerston came into Charles Wood's while Lord John was there. It rained, and Palmerston offered to take Lord John home, which he accepted, but nothing passed on the way, nor did Palmerston propose to get out and enter the house when he might have had the conversation he had expressed a wish for, and so it ended. The plans imagined by mutual friends for affecting a political reconciliation have vanished into air. Palmerston is resolved not to go to the House of Lords, and Lord John is equally determined not to take office under him. Palmerston says

that he cannot trust Lord John to lead the House of Commons. Personally, meanwhile, they are ostensibly friends, and Lord John dines at Cambridge House to-morrow. Charles Wood asked the Duke of Bedford, supposing the Government resigned, and Palmerston was again sent for, what he thought Palmerston ought to do, to which he replied that he ought to accept the task, send to Lord John, and on his refusal to join (as he probably would), to do the best he could with the materials he could command. This advice would, I conceive, be very palateable to Palmerston, and it is what he would naturally do without any advice.

I called on Lyndhurst the night I came to town, and found him very dissatisfied with the Government, both on account of their management and errors, and because they have treated him with personal neglect ; he had begged Derby and Disraeli to do something for his son-in-law, but both put him off with excuses, and would do nothing. He is particularly disgusted with the state of the Jew question, and with the foolish and obstinate conduct of the Government in the House of Lords about it, on which he was very eloquent, particularly for their having made a great whip and getting up every man they could lay hands on to come and vote, instead of leaving it to take its chance, and at least making an open question of it.

*May 16th.*—The first great battle took place in the House of Lords the night before last, at which I was present.<sup>1</sup> It was a very spirited fight, and I never recollect seeing the House of Lords so crowded both with ladies and lords. Pretty good speaking ; Lord Grey's was about the best speech and the one I most agreed with. I cannot see the matter of Canning'

<sup>1</sup> [On May 14, Mr. Cardwell moved a resolution condemning the despatch which Lord Ellenborough had written and published, censuring the Proclamation of the Governor-General of India. A similar Resolution was moved by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, when it was defeated by a majority of nine. The debate in the House of Commons lasted four nights, and in the interval Lord Ellenborough resigned. Mr. Cardwell then withdrew his motion, and the attack on the Government suddenly collapsed.]

Proclamation and Ellenborough's despatch in the light that either side does, and think there is much to be said both ways. In the Commons the fight began on Friday also, and the most remarkable speech in it was that of Cairns, the new Solicitor-General, which was very clever and effective. John Russell also spoke very well and vigorously, quite in his old style. There is much difference of opinion as to the amount of majority, though it is generally expected there will be one against Government, and I now hear that they have determined positively to dissolve if they are beaten, though with little or no chance of their bettering themselves by a dissolution.

*May 23rd.*—The excitement of Epsom during the whole of last week was not greater than that which prevailed in London during the great debates in the House of Commons, the result of which, on Thursday night, produced such unusual surprise, with so much triumph on one side and such mortification and disappointment on the other. In my long experience I do not recollect to have seen so much political bitterness and violence (except perhaps during the great contests of the Catholic question and Reform), and certainly there never was a great Parliamentary battle distinguished by so much uncertainty and so many vicissitudes, and in which the end corresponded so little with the beginning and with the general expectation. For a considerable time not only all the late Cabinet and their supporters, but the whole body of Whigs, both Palmerstonians and Russellites, had been growing more and more impatient of the Derby Government, and they were considering how they could make a final and irresistible attack upon them, and for the last three weeks there had been nothing but negotiations and *pourparlers* to effect a coalition between the rival leaders and their friends for the purpose of their at least uniting in one great hostile vote, which should drive the Derbyites to resignation or dissolution, hoping and expecting that their majority would be so large as to put the latter out of the question. The occasion seemed to present itself upon Ellenborough's letter to Canning censuring his Proclamation

A meeting took place at Cambridge House, when the whole plan was matured, and though John Russell did not attend it, he agreed to be a party to the Motion of Censure. Shaftesbury was put forward in the Lords, and Cardwell was induced to take the initiative in the House of Commons. Nobody doubted of success, and the only question was (much debated and betted upon) by how many the Government would be beaten. Meanwhile Ellenborough resigned, which gave a new aspect to the affair, and the Government got a small majority in the Lords. It was evident that no popularity attached to the motion, and many of the Liberals were of opinion that upon Ellenborough's resignation the affair ought to drop and the motion be withdrawn. But the die was cast, the Palmerstonians were quite confident and eager for the fray, and would not hear of stopping in their career. The debate began, the speaking being all along better on the Government side, and every day their prospects as to the division appeared to be mending and public opinion more and more inclining against the Opposition and the Proclamation, though still blaming Ellenborough's letter. If the debate had ended on Tuesday as was expected, Government would probably have been beaten, but Sir Charles Napier had got Tuesday, and would not give it up, so that the decision was of necessity adjourned ; the delay was all in favour of the Government, and on Thursday night arrived the Indian despatches with Canning's explanations and the Outram correspondence, which was immediately published, and although Palmerston and his friends and newspapers pretended that they considered these documents favourable to their cause, the general impression was rather the other way. All this time the Government people found their cause improving, and their chances in the division mending, and though their enemies still pretended to be certain of success, and I was told on Thursday night that I might safely lay any odds on their having a majority, the best informed of them in the House of Commons began to see danger, and at last they confessed only to expect a bare majority, and the Speaker told

somebody it was very likely he should have to give a casting vote. The Radicals, or those of them who professed to be adherents of the Whig Cabinet, strongly urged the withdrawal of Cardwell's motion, and at last on the Thursday seem to have made up their minds that defeat in some shape was inevitable, and that the best thing left for them to do was to get rid of the debate in any way they could. Henry Lennox called on me yesterday morning to tell me what had passed, to this effect : that on Friday Disraeli had received a letter from Cardwell in which he asked if Disraeli would allow him to withdraw his motion, and subsequently Palmerston desired to confer with him, when he put the same question to him, to which (according to Henry Lennox's statement) Disraeli replied, in a very lofty tone, that he would hear of nothing which could possibly be construed into any admission on their part of their meriting any part of the censure which the Opposition had been labouring to cast upon them. The Government had by this time ascertained that the Opposition had made their minds up to back out of the motion as best they might, and their retreat was not very cleverly done, beginning with Cardwell's refusal to withdraw, and ending with Palmerston's recommendation to him to yield, which was a got-up thing. The scene in the House was most extraordinary, and particularly mortifying to Palmerston, who saw himself involved in inevitable defeat, and without the power of rallying again for some time. If anybody could be excused for the impatience which brought him and his party into this dilemma, it was Palmerston, who in his seventy-fourth year, and resolved to die in harness if he could, had no time to lose. This affair has been the battle of Marengo of political warfare. The Whigs appeared to be victorious, and carrying everything before them up to the eleventh hour, and then came a sudden turn of affairs, and the promise of victory was turned into rout and disaster. The campaign is lost, and for the rest of this session the Government have it all their own way. The Whigs are in the condition of a defeated army, who require to be completely reorganised and

re-formed before they can take the field again. The general resentment and mortification are extreme. They have naturally lost all confidence in their leaders, and they are now all ready to complain of the tactics of which they entirely approved till they found that defeat had been the consequence of their adoption. It is not probable that Palmerston and his late Cabinet will attempt anything more during this session, and everything is in such a state of confusion and uncertainty that the best thing they can do is to remain quiet, merely in a state of watchfulness, and to see what the *volvenda dies* may bring about in the course of the next six months, leaving the Derbyites unmolested during that time. Derby will get Gladstone if possible to take the India Board, and this will be the best thing that can happen. His natural course is to be at the head of a Conservative Government, and he may, if he acts with prudence, be the means of raising that party to something like dignity and authority, and emancipating it from its dependence on the discreditable and insincere support of the Radicals.

\**June 7th.*—At Cleveden, at Ascot, and at Hatchford all the past week, during which I heard little or nothing about politics. The matter which made the most stir was Disraeli's impudent and mendacious speech at Slough, in which he bitterly attacked the last Ministry and glorified his own. The Whigs were stung to madness, and two or three nights were occupied in both Houses, principally by Palmerston and Clarendon, in answering this speech, and demonstrating its falsehood. The proceeding was not very dignified, and they might just as well have left it alone, particularly as nobody cared much about what Disraeli said ; but there was so little sympathy for the ex-Ministers that no indignation was excited by it, except among themselves and their immediate friends. There seems little chance now of anything but a desultory warfare going on in the House of Commons, without any serious attack on the Government, who seem safe for this session at least. The most interesting event last week was the virtual settlement of the eternal Jew question,

which the House of Lords sulkily acquiesced in. It was very desirable for many reasons to put an end to it.

*Norman Court, June 16th.*—Every day it appears more and more evident that Palmerston's political career is drawing to a close, and he alone seems blind to the signs which denote it. Few things are stranger than the violent reaction which has deprived him of his popularity, and made him an object of bitter aversion to a considerable part of the Liberals, not only to such men as Graham and Bright, but even to many of his former followers and adherents. I cannot say I am sorry for it, but I do in fairness think that this reaction is overdone and exaggerated, and the hostility to Palmerston greater than there is any reason for. I do not wish to see him again at the head of affairs, but I should be sorry to see a man so distinguished, who has been exalted so high, and who has many good qualities, end his life, or at least his political career, under circumstances of mortification and humiliation. If this happens it will be owing principally to his obstinacy in persisting in leading a party who have no longer any mind to be led by him, and the insatiable ambition which cannot brook the notion of retirement at any time of life. If he was wise and was not blinded by vanity and the flattery of his hangers-on, he would take a juster and clearer view of his position, and supposing him still intent on playing the political game, he would endeavour to act a part as nearly like that which Peel acted in his last years as the difference of circumstances would admit.

But the determination to have no more to do with Palmerston has not made the Whigs and Liberals more disposed to throw themselves into the arms of Lord John, and as yet, so far from any appearance of a reorganisation of the Liberal party, they seem more disunited and scattered than ever. Even Lord John and Graham, who seemed to be most closely allied, are now continually voting different ways ; and as to the other leading men, it is impossible to predict how they will vote on any subject that comes before Parliament. In this state of confusion many Liberal-Conservatives are beginning to wish for

the consolidation of the Government, and are inclining to support it, if the Government itself will give them an opportunity of doing so, by asserting their own independence as a *Conservative* Government, and will leave off truckling to the Radicals, by accepting measures which everyone knows to be repugnant to their feelings and opinions, and inconsistent with the principles they have always professed. Men who supported Palmerston's Government because they considered it to be a Conservative one, foresee that before long parties must assume the character of Radical and Conservative, the Whigs being merged in the former, and that the party of the present Government forms the only force capable of resisting the Whig and Radical union when it takes place, and that their best course will be to join the Conservative camp, if the present Government do not, by unprincipled and inconsistent concessions, for the sake of an easy official existence, render it impossible for them to do so. I do not know to what extent this feeling prevails, but I believe it is extending, and Lord St. Germans, who is a very staunch friend to the late Government, and latterly belonged to them, told me the other day that Granville had great difficulty in keeping his people together. Ashburton is very warm and eager in this sense, and though neither of these men have much weight, I have no doubt they are exponents of the sentiments of a much larger number. I called on Lyndhurst on Monday evening, and talked this question over with him, and entreated him to speak to Derby upon it. We were very well agreed, and he said he would endeavour to talk to Derby, but he is rather embarrassed, because he does not know what Derby is going to do about the Jew Bill, there being some strange signs of an intention on the part of Derby to throw it over after all, though this would be so extremely foolish, as well as so false and dishonourable, that I cannot believe it is in his contemplation.

*June 22nd.*—During the week I passed at Norman Court the Government here were gaining ground. They had two good divisions in the House of Commons, sufficient to prove

that if they cannot command a majority here, they have at least as much influence and power and are as well supported as any other leader or party. Then the publication of the Cagliari papers, and the way in which that question was settled, was a real triumph to the Foreign Office, and acknowledged to be so by the whole Press of every shade, and by everybody in Parliament, not excepting the ex-Ministers themselves. They are undoubtedly gaining strength, while the chances of another Palmerston Government become more and more faint and remote. All information coincides in representing Palmerston's unpopularity as great and general, certainly the most extraordinary change that ever took place in so short a time. The Duke of Bedford writes to me from Endsleigh : 'I hear of only one general feeling against Palmerston in the West. What a change since this time last year !'

I had a long talk with Tom Baring at Norman Court about the Government, their proceedings and their prospects, and we agreed entirely on the subject. I wanted him to speak to some of his friends the ministers, and to endeavour to get them to act a bolder and more consistent part as a Conservative Government, and he urged me to speak to Disraeli, which I told him I would do, and only refrained from doubting if I could do any real good with him. The Government are certainly placed in a difficult position. The Government and party whom they replaced were determined to thrust them out again as soon as possible, and their weakness and danger drove them into a quasi-alliance with the Radicals, or at least into so much deference and so many concessions to Radicals and Ultra-Liberals, that the Whigs, who were baffled and kept out by this policy, held them up to bitter scorn and reproach for acting, in this manner, and now, when they agree to any measure with regard to which concession is reasonable and prudent, they are always assailed with the same reproaches instead of getting credit for so doing. To be sure they often contrive to make their concessions in such a way as to deprive them of all grace and merit. This has been pre-eminently the case with the Jew Bill.

Among the events of last week one of the most interesting was the Queen's visit to Birmingham, where she was received by the whole of that enormous population with an enthusiasm which is said to have exceeded all that was ever displayed in her former receptions at Manchester or elsewhere. It is impossible not to regard such manifestations as both significant and important. They evince a disposition in those masses of the population in which, if anywhere, the seeds of Radicalism are supposed to lurk, most favourable to the Conservative cause, by which I mean not to this or that party, but to the Monarchy and the Constitution under which we are living and flourishing, and which we may believe to be still dear to the hearts of the people of this country. This great fact lends some force to the notion entertained by many political thinkers, that there is more danger in conferring political power on the middle classes than in extending it far beneath them, and in point of fact that there is so little to be apprehended from the extension of the suffrage, that universal suffrage itself would be innocuous. Amongst the concessions of last week was the passing of Locke King's Bill for abolishing a property qualification, which was done with hardly any opposition. There can be no doubt that the practice was a mere sham, and that a property qualification was very often a fiction or a fraud, and such being the case, that it was useless to keep up the distinction ; but it struck me, though I do not find that it occurred to anybody else, that the abolition might sooner or later have an indirect influence upon the question of the suffrage, for it may be urged, not without plausibility, that if it be held no longer necessary that a representative should have any property whatever, there is great inconsistency in requiring that the elector should have a certain amount of property to entitle him to vote.

*June 26th.*—The India Bill appears now likely to pass rather rapidly and in the shape presented by the Government. Everybody is tired to death of the subject and anxious to have it over, and the general impatience is increased by alarm at the foul state of the Thames, which (long discussed in a negligent

way, and without much public attention or care) has suddenly assumed vast proportions, and is become an object of general interest and apprehension. This makes the House of Commons eager to finish its business as expeditiously as it can, and members impatient to betake themselves to a purer and safer atmosphere. The Government continues to maintain its ascendancy there, and last night Palmerston was beaten by considerable majorities on two amendments he moved to the India Bill.

The Chancellor has drawn down great obloquy on himself by a speech which he made at the Mansion House a night or two ago. Derby's illness having prevented his going to the dinner (given to the Ministers), Thesiger had to speak for him, and he made the very worst, most injudicious, and unbecoming speech which was ever delivered on such an occasion. No rule is more established than that politics are not to be introduced at these dinners, and yet his speech was nothing but a political song of triumph and glorification of his own Government and colleagues, as somebody said, a counterpart (though less offensive one) of Disraeli's Slough speech. All their heads are turned, and the Chancellor's as much or more than any.

Then there is a grand mess about the Jew question, which is hung up in a sort of abeyance in consequence of Derby's not being able to come down to the House of Lords. From the moment that Derby took upon himself to announce his abandonment of the contest, which he did not frankly and fully, but sulkily and reluctantly, he seems to have half repented of what he did, and to have, if not made, permitted and connived at, all sorts of difficulties and obstacles, while his subordinates and some of his colleagues have interposed to prevent or delay the final settlement. It is difficult to believe that he himself ever cared a straw about the Jew question, or that his opposition had any motive except that of pleasing the bigoted and narrow-minded of his party. His good sense saw that the moment was come when surrender was the best

policy, if not an absolute necessity, and having given utterance to this conviction, no doubt to the enormous disgust of many of his followers, it was his interest to get rid of the question as quickly as possible, and dismiss what as long as it remained on the *tapis* in any shape was a source of disagreement and ill-humour between him and his party. It is marvellous, therefore, that so clever a man should have acted so foolish a part as he has done. Having disgusted his own party by his concession, he is now disgusting everybody else and all other parties by his hesitation and pusillanimity in carrying it out, and, with an absence of dignity and firmness which is utterly unworthy of the high position he holds, he has permitted his Chancellor and some half-dozen subordinate members of his Government to do all they can to thwart the settlement of the question, and prolong the exclusion of the Jews. Instead of taking the matter into his own hands, and dealing with it according to the plain suggestions of common sense and sound policy, he has permitted a sort of little conspiracy to go on, which is exceedingly likely to bring about a collision between the two Houses, and to raise a flame in the House of Commons the consequences of which may be more serious to the Government than any one contemplates. Lyndhurst, whose wise head is provoked and disgusted to the last degree at all these proceedings, has bitterly complained of them, and at the way in which they have treated him, and the bill he drew up for the express purpose of putting an end to the dilemma.

*July 9th.*—After all Derby ran true to the Jew Bill, and if he did it in an awkward way, allowances must be made for him and for his difficulties with his party, who are full of chagrin at being compelled to swallow this obnoxious measure. It is on the whole better that the bulk of them should have voted in conformity with their notorious opinions, as it made no difference as to the result, and has a better appearance than if they had whisked round at Derby's bidding. The India Bill has passed the House of Commons pretty harmoniously, and people seem to think it has been licked into a very decent shape.

The most interesting event of the present day is the marriage of Lord Overstone's daughter to a Major Lindsay,<sup>1</sup> who has got the greatest heiress who ever existed, that is, supposing she inherits her father's prodigious wealth, which since old Jones Loyd's death is reckoned to amount to six or seven millions.

*July 13th.*—After an ineffectual attempt on the part of the Opposition to get rid of the 'reasons' of the Lords, the Jew Bill has passed, Granville and Lansdowne protesting against the absurdity of the conduct of Derby with regard to it. It is remarkable that though Lord Lansdowne has for some time appeared much *baissé*, his speech was as good and sensible a speech as he ever made in his life. As to Derby, as it is impossible that so clever a man as he is could willingly act so foolish and even ridiculous a part as he has done on this occasion, I conclude that he felt obliged to do what he has done in order to avoid quarrelling with his own friends, who without doubt are intensely disgusted at the bitter pill he has obliged them to swallow; and as he knows best what he can venture with them and what not, it is more reasonable to accept the measure on his own terms than to be angry with him for the way in which he has contrived it.

The last accounts from India are far from satisfactory, and the apprehensions which I long ago felt and expressed, but which I had begun to think unfounded, seem not unlikely to be realised. It is clear that the contest is neither over nor drawing to a close. Our danger consists in the swarms of armed and hostile natives, and in the climate. The rebels we always beat when we can grapple with them, but we cannot crush and subdue them. They gather together and assail our people when a good opportunity presents itself, and when they are repulsed (as is always the case) their masses are dissolved

<sup>1</sup> [Afterwards Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay, V.C., raised to the Peerage in 1885 by the title of Lord Wantage. The property of Lord Overstone, as disposed of by his will, amounted to about three millions, and would pass in reversion to the Loyd family on the failure of issue by his daughter.]

and scattered abroad, without any material diminution of their numbers, and ready to assemble and attack any other vulnerable point, while the British troops are harassed to death by unceasing pursuits of foes so much more nimble and able to endure the climate than themselves. This species of warfare must be disheartening and disgusting, and it involves a consumption of life requiring more reinforcements than we can supply. All the accounts we receive concur in the insufficiency of the European force and the necessity of fresh supplies. One letter I saw yesterday talks of 40,000 men being requisite.

*Petworth, July 31st.*—I came here from Goodwood, not having been here for twenty years, and am rather glad to see once more a place where I passed so much of my time in my younger days. I think it is the finest house I have ever seen, and its collection of pictures is unrivalled for number, beauty, and interest. Parliament is to be up on Monday, and the Council for the prorogation is to take place to-day at Osborne.

I met Brunnow at Goodwood, who talked over the political events of the Russian war, and assured me that the part he had played in it had been much misrepresented, that he had never been misled by Aberdeen, nor had he ever misled the Emperor Nicholas, but on the contrary had told him, without any disguise, the real state of affairs, and the almost certainty that war would ensue, that he was well aware himself, and had impressed on his master, that although Aberdeen was most anxious to avoid war, he had no power to do so, and that though he was nominally Prime Minister, he was destitute of the authority of one. He said the Emperor was quite sincere in all he had said to Hamilton Scymour, and if we had had at Petersburg a minister with more tact and judgement, war would not have taken place. He (Brunnow) had urged Aberdeen to send Granville there for the purpose, who, he thinks, would have done very well, and of whom he has a high opinion.

*London, August 15th.*—I returned to town from Petworth last Monday week, and on Tuesday a fit of gout came on,

which has laid me up ever since, leaving me no energy to do anything, and least of all to execute the purpose I entertained of sketching the past session of Parliament, and the curious events which it evolved ; the decline and fall of Palmerston and his Government, the advent of Derby, and the vicissitudes of his career, deserve a narrative which might, if well handled by some well-informed writer, be made very interesting ; but I am conscious of my own unfitness and dare not attempt it. It is in truth time for me to leave off keeping a journal, for by degrees I have lost the habit of communicating with all the people from whom I have been in the habit of obtaining political information, and I know nothing worth recording.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley—Lord Palmerston's Leadership—Dissensions in the Liberal Party—The Queen and her Ministers—Lord Stanley at the India Office—The Queen's Letter to the Prince of Wales—Reform Speeches and Projects—Lord Palmerston's Confidence—Prosecution of Count Montalembert in France—Lord Clarendon's Visit to Compiègne—The Emperor's Designs on Italy—The Emperor and the Pope—Approach of War—Lord Palmerston's prudent Language—Lord Palmerston's Italian Sympathies—The Electric Telegraph—Opposition in France to the War—The Emperor's Prevarication—Opening of Parliament—Debates on Foreign Affairs—Lord Cowley's Mission to Vienna—General Opposition to the War—A Reform Bill—Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley resign—Duplicity of the Emperor—Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill—The Emperor denies his Warlike Preparations—The Whigs oppose the Reform Bill—Anxiety to defeat the Government—Lord Cowley returns from Vienna—War impending—Dishonest Conduct of both Parties—Lord Cowley's Account of Cavour's Policy—His Mission to Vienna—A Congress proposed—Indifference to Reform—Debates on the Reform Bill—Defeat of the Reform Bill—An Envoy from Cavour.

*Hinchinbrook, September 5th.*—At The Grove last week, and on Friday to Osborne for a Council. At The Grove I met Charles Villiers and the Duke of Bedford, and had much talk with both of them about affairs in general, particularly with the Duke about Lord John. He is busily employed in concocting a Reform Bill, which he had probably better leave alone. He seems to have shown his project to several people, and recently to Aberdeen, who wrote him word that he must take care not to make it too mild, so much so as to be inconsistent with what he has before proposed. It seems it is very mild, for it embraces no Schedule A, no disqualification, though a good deal of addi-

tion to the constituency. Lord John has recently struck up a great intimacy with Lord Stanley, and has had him repeatedly down to Pembroke Lodge. They take very kindly to each other, and Lord John is evidently anxious to cultivate him, for he asked the Duke to invite Stanley to go to Woburn, where Lord John and all his family are gone to stay. He has been talking a great deal to Stanley on past politics, but not on present, which would have been rather awkward in their relative positions, but he has told Stanley a great deal about the political affairs in which he has been engaged, especially with respect to the great Reform Bill, its history and incidents, which details no doubt were very interesting and useful to him, and I am not surprised at Stanley's being much pleased with Lord John's society and conversation, for Lord John is very agreeable and full of that sort of political information in which Stanley takes the greatest delight and interest. Although Lord John has abstained from making any attempt to establish political relations between them, it is highly probable that he should look forward to the possibility of some such relations being hereafter established, for in the present state of parties a fresh organisation and combination is almost inevitable, and he may very naturally look forward to a combination into which they may both enter, and with this view he may be very glad to cultivate a personal and social intimacy, and the Duke thinks he has some such view in his mind.

The Duke told me that he was at Lord Broughton's the other day, when Broughton said he had been applied to by some of Palmerston's former followers to make a representation to Palmerston of the present state of affairs and of the Liberal party, and to suggest to him the expediency of his abdication of the lead of it, and the impossibility of that party regaining its ascendancy so long as he insisted on continuing its chief and retaining his pretensions of returning to office. To this request he sent a refusal. He said he entirely agreed with the people making it, but that it would have no effect whatever except that of making a personal quarrel between himself and

the Palmerstons, with whom he had always been on very good terms. I did not learn the names of these Whig malcontents. Charles Villiers takes a similar view, but does not think that anything would induce Palmerston to retire, or that his former colleagues and immediate adherents would transfer their support to any one else as long as he continues to claim it from them. He thinks, moreover, and he has very good means of judging, that his position and that of John Russell and the impossibility of their reunion will effectually paralyse the Liberal party and secure the possession of office to the present Government, and that there is on the whole rather a preference for the continuation of the present state of things than any desire for a change which would bring the Whigs back again. He had recently been with George Lewis, and found him at length rather disposed to come into my view of the matter of their resignation, and to regret it. It is entirely the opinion of Charles Villiers himself, and he said there would have been no difficulty in obtaining from the House of Commons a vote of confidence, for there was no wish to turn them out, and having administered the rebuke which the Government so well merited, the majority would have seized with alacrity an occasion to make it up with them, and to show that they had no desire to quarrel with them outright.

The Opposition now found all their hopes on the dissensions which they expect to arise in the Tory Government and camp, which is a very uncertain prospect, and as to which they are very likely to be disappointed. The day I went to Osborne I had some conversation with Disraeli, who gave me to understand that he was well aware the Opposition relied on this contingency, but that it was not likely to happen. He was aware of Lord Stanley's *liaison* with Lord John, and it was evident that the former had made no secret of it, and had told Disraeli that there was (at present) nothing political in it. Lord John had not said a word about his Reform Bill to Stanley, and Disraeli knew that he had not. All this looks like union and confidence between them.

As far as outward appearances go, the Queen is on very good terms with them, for she gave audiences to several of them, and long ones. Her conduct at the time of the break-up was certainly curious and justifies them in saying that it was by her express desire that Derby undertook the formation of the Government. If Palmerston and his Cabinet were actuated by the motives and expectations which I ascribe to them, Her Majesty certainly did not play into their hands in that game. When Derby set before her all the difficulties of his situation, and entreated her again to reflect upon it, a word from her would have induced him (without having anything to complain of) to throw it back into Palmerston's hands. But the word she did speak was decisive as to his going on, and there is no reason to believe that she was playing a deep game and calculating on his failure. Nor do I believe that she would herself have liked to see Palmerston made all powerful. She can hardly have forgotten how inclined he has always been to abuse his power, and how much she has suffered from his exercise of it, even when he was to a certain degree under control, and although she seemed to be quite reconciled to him, and to be anxious for the stability of his Government, it is difficult to know what her real feelings (or rather those of the Prince) were, and it is more than probable that her anxiety for the success of Palmerston's Government was more on account of the members of it whom she personally likes, and whom she was very reluctant to lose, than out of partiality for the Premier himself. To Clarendon she is really attached, and Granville she likes very much; most of the rest she regarded with indifference.

*London, November 4th.*—Two months have elapsed during which I have felt no inclination to note down anything in this book, but now that the Newmarket meetings are at an end, and I must needs think of other things, I shall jot down the very few things that have come across me in the interval. When I was at Hillingdon a few weeks ago, I was surprised to hear from Charles Mills a glowing panegyric on Lord Stanley, who has gained golden opinions and great popularity at the

India House.<sup>1</sup> I was prepared to hear of his ability, his indefatigable industry, and his businesslike qualities; but I was surprised to hear so much of his courtesy, affability, patience, and candour, that he is neither dictatorial nor conceited, always ready to listen to other people's opinions and advice, and never fancying that he knows better than anybody else. I afterwards told Jonathan Peel what I had heard, and he confirmed the truth of this report, and said he was the same in the Cabinet; but he made me comprehend his popularity with the Council by telling me that he espoused all their views and interests, and co-operated with them in endeavouring to retain certain powers which belonged to the extinct Court of Directors, but which ought, as a consequence of the change, to pass into other hands, particularly military appointments and matters of military control. This received confirmation not long ago from the Duke of Cambridge, whom I met at Cheveley, and who gave me an account of some matter in which he had received and executed certain orders from the Secretary of War, and soon after received a very sharp letter from Stanley calling him to account for having interfered in what, he said, belonged to the Indian Secretary. The Duke referred him to the War Office, so that there seems already a conflict of jurisdiction between the two offices. From all this it is apparent that we shall have fresh Indian discussions when Parliament meets, and there will be a necessity for fresh arrangements for the transaction of business. This may seem to be a very trifling matter, and not worth noticing, but Lord Stanley is so completely *the man* of the present day, and in all human probability is destined to play so important and conspicuous a part in political life, that the time may come when any details, however minute, of his early career will be deemed worthy of recollection.

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, had succeeded to the Presidency of the Board of Control upon the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, and was the first Secretary of State for India upon the abolition of the former office.]

I hear the Queen has written a letter to the Prince of Wales announcing to him his emancipation from parental authority and control; and that it is one of the most admirable letters that ever were penned. She tells him that he may have thought the rule they adopted for his education a severe one, but that his welfare was their only object, and well knowing to what seductions of flattery he would eventually be exposed, they wished to prepare and strengthen his mind against them, that he was now to consider himself his own master, and that they should never intrude any advice upon him, although always ready to give it him whenever he thought fit to seek it. It was a very long letter, all in that tone, and it seems to have made a profound impression on the Prince, and to have touched his feelings to the quick. He brought it to Gerald Wellesley in floods of tears, and the effect it produced is a proof of the wisdom which dictated its composition.

*November 17th.*—The principal topics of interest for the last fortnight have been Bright's speeches, the visit of Palmerston and Clarendon to Compiègne, the Portuguese and French quarrel, and the pamphlet and approaching trial of Montalembert, on all of which there is plenty to say. Bright's speeches have evidently been a failure, and if they produce any effect, it will probably be one rather useful to the Government; but the very failure only proves more strongly the bad policy of Derby in bringing forward a Reform measure, and how much more safe he would have been if he had let it alone. There is a considerable though not universal impression that by some means and through the operation of the chapter of accidents this Reform Bill will prove fatal to him. Mr. Elwin, the editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' told the Duke of Bedford he thought so, and that he had been told by a Cabinet Minister that there had been such serious differences of opinion amongst them on this subject that if the session had been prolonged the Government would probably have gone to pieces at that time, and Lord John told the Duke that Walpole had intimated to him something of the same kind. Lord John is expecting, and

Palmerston is hoping, that the Government will fall, and the latter is still confident that his day will come again, a confidence which no one else seems to partake of. Clarendon, who is the staunchest of Palmerston's allies and colleagues, has been endeavouring to dissipate this illusion and to bring him to take a more accurate view of his own position, but without success. 'He cannot see why John Russell should not again take office under him,' and it is in vain that Clarendon assures him that nothing on earth will induce Lord John to do so. Lord John seems disposed to bide his time, and evidently cherishes a hope and expectation that the Whig party will return to their allegiance to him and enable him to form another Government. He seems to have a liking for Bright, though he does not agree with all his views of Reform. At this moment my own belief is that the present Government have the best chance in this race for power from the mere fact of their being in possession, and from the hopeless disunion and confusion in which the Whigs and Liberals are plunged.

Montalembert's paper is admirable, and I agree with almost every part of it, especially about the Indian debate and Indian policy, and the causes of Palmerston's extraordinary fall and the loss of his popularity. His prosecution by the Imperial Government is either an enormous mistake and political error, or a stroke of policy so deep and refined as to be beyond my comprehension. Here everybody regards it as a great imprudence.

*December 2nd.*—I returned to town yesterday, having been to Badger Hall, thence to Grimstone, then to Ossington, and yesterday from Hinchinbrook. If I have written nothing it is not from want of interesting events worth notice, but because I have known and heard nothing more than all the world learnt from the newspapers. The chief topics of interest have been the pamphlet and the trial of Montalembert and the visit of Palmerston and Clarendon to Compiègne. The first seems to have excited more interest here than in Paris, where the tyrannical proceeding was taken very quietly, and little sympathy

felt for a man who wrote so enthusiastically about England, and rebuked his own countrymen, and particularly his co-religionaries, for their unworthy conduct and language towards us. There appears to have been a general feeling of regret or disapproval of the visit to Paris, even on the part of those who are most friendly to the two Lords. I think it is a pity they should have gone just at this moment, when the Montalembert affair and the Portuguese quarrel have made the Emperor Napoleon very unpopular here; but it does not seem to me to be a matter of much consequence, or to be worth the indignation which in some quarters it has elicited.

*Hillingdon, December 12th.*—I went to The Grove on Wednesday last and came back on Friday. There I had long talks with Clarendon for the first time for many a day, when he told me a great deal that was interesting, just as he used to do formerly, first about his visit to Compiègne and his conversations with the Emperor. The Emperor told him that his motive for prosecuting Montalembert was that he was aware that there was a conspiracy of literary men, enemies of his Government, to write it down in a very insidious manner, not by any direct attacks, but, under the pretence of discussing subjects either not political or not French, to introduce matter most hostile and most mischievous to him, and that it was necessary to put down such a conspiracy, and he thought the best course was to proceed at once against a man so conspicuous as Montalembert, and to make an example of him, by which others would be deterred. This was his excuse, whatever its value. It appears to me a very bad one, and I doubt if the fact itself is true, though Clarendon seemed to think it was. They had a great deal of conversation about Italy and the anti-Austrian projects attributed to France, touching which the Emperor's ideas were most strange and extravagant. He said there had been two questions in which France was interested: one the regeneration of Poland, the other the regeneration of Italy; that in the pursuit of the first France naturally became the ally of Austria against Russia, in the pursuit of the other

she became the ally of Russia and Sardinia against Austria ; that the peace with Russia had put an end to anything being done about the first, and the second alone became possible. Clarendon then pointed out to him all the difficulties of involving himself in such a contest as this scheme supposed, that Austria would sacrifice her last florin and her last man in defence of her Italian provinces, that to go to war with her would almost inevitably sooner or later plunge all Europe into war, and that the object to be gained by it, even by France herself, would be wholly incommensurate with the cost and the danger that would be incurred. The Emperor appeared to have no reply to make to Clarendon's remonstrances, nor did I gather that His Majesty had any *casus belli* against Austria, nor even any just cause of complaint to urge against her, from which I draw the inference not only that his policy is of a very wild and chimerical character, but that at any moment when he might see, or think he saw, any advantage in attacking another Power, no consideration of justice and good faith, still less of moderation and care for the happiness and peace of the world, would restrain him, and from such a contingency England would be no more exempt than any other country.<sup>1</sup>

*December 12th.*—Another day the Emperor asked Clarendon to come into his room, when he told him that he wanted his advice, that he was in a great dilemma and embarrassment in regard to his Roman occupation, and in a false position, from which he did not know how to extricate himself. He was dying to recall the French troops and yet unable to do it. He had always hoped to be able to get the policy laid down in the Edgar Ney letter carried out, but as soon as the Pope and his

<sup>1</sup> [It is remarkable that this conversation of the Emperor with Lord Clarendon at Compiègne took place within a month of the speech to Baron Hübner on New Year's Day, which was the signal of war between France and Austria, and at a time when the secret alliance between the Emperor and M. de Cavour had been already concluded. The Emperor's object was evidently to delude his English guests, and Lord Clarendon was partially deceived by him, although he clearly perceived that there was danger of war ahead.]

ecclesiastical councillors returned to Rome they refused to do anything, and whenever he held out any threat of withdrawing his troops they always said he might do so whenever he pleased, for they knew very well the reasons which prevented his doing it : the moment the French troops marched out there would be an uprising in Rome and in the Papal States. The religious party in France would deeply resent his exposing the Pope to any such danger, and as soon as the French went away the Austrians would march in and be masters of the whole country. Clarendon acknowledged the gravity of the situation and the difficulty, but could suggest no solution of it. They discussed the possibility of inducing the Pope to relinquish his temporal sovereignty, and to accept a great revenue instead, but neither of them seems to have thought this plan feasible.

*January 14th, 1859.*—I purposed at the close of the last year to say a few words about a year which might well be called *annus mirabilis* and *annus mestissimus* besides, for I do not remember any year marked by a greater number and variety of remarkable events and occurrences, and certainly none which has been so fatal to the happiness of so many of our friends. One calamity has succeeded another with frightful rapidity, till it is difficult to point to any one who has not sustained some terrible bereavement in the persons of near and dear relations or intimate friends. A severe fit of gout which attacked me on Christmas Day, and has kept hold of me ever since, prevented my executing my purpose, and now I have forgotten all I intended to say, and can only take up the present condition of affairs as they present themselves at the beginning of this year, and this is dark and unpromising enough. All Europe has been thrown into alarm by the speech which the Emperor Napoleon made to the Austrian Ambassador Hübner on New Year's Day, and by the announcement which followed it that Prince Napoleon was going to Turin to marry the King of Sardinia's daughter. The language of the King of Sardinia in his speech to his Parliament shortly afterwards confirmed the general apprehensions. The menacing manufac-

tions having produced their effect, the Emperor seems to have thought it advisable to draw in his horns, and to try and calm the effervescence he had produced. This, however, was not so easy, and in spite of certain tranquillising articles which the French Press was instructed to put forth, the impression that mischief is brewing cannot be effaced, and though many think that there will be no immediate outbreak, and the money dealers and speculators comfort themselves with thinking that want of money will prevent the great military Powers from going to war, the best informed persons, and those who are most accustomed to watch the signs of the times, are convinced that the time is near at hand when the peace of the world will be broken, that the Emperor is determined upon an aggression on Austria, and that he is only undecided as to the time when the operation shall be begun. It is now evident that when our ex-Ministers were at Compiègne, and when the Emperor pretended that he wanted to consult Clarendon confidentially, he only made a half-confidence of his views and his position, and that he concealed from Clarendon the important fact of the marriage of Prince Napoleon, which was arranged at the time.

*The Grove, January 25th.*—I have passed three days here very agreeably; a large party on Saturday and Sunday, after which Clarendon, George Lewis, and I, talked over everything interesting at home and abroad. There has been a good deal of correspondence between Clarendon and John Russell in a very friendly spirit, quite different from the terms they have been on till lately, and indicating the possibility of their coming together again in Opposition and in office. I saw also some letters of Palmerston's upon foreign affairs, exceedingly sound and judicious. I am bound to say that all I hear and see of Palmerston's views, opinions, and conduct is highly creditable to him, and very different from what I expected. He evinces no impatience to return to office, and no misconception of his own position. All he writes on foreign affairs, on France and Austria and Italy, is marked by great wisdom and moderation. He is taking his proper place as head of the Liberal and Whig

party, prepared to go to Parliament and wait for the development of the policy and measures of the Government, before forming any plan of a political campaign. Reading at the same time the letters of Lord John and those of Palmerston on the same subject, that of foreign policy, I am struck with the great superiority of the latter.

*Bretby, January 27th.*—I left The Grove yesterday morning, and came here to-day. At breakfast yesterday Clarendon handed over to me a letter from Reeve, enclosing one from Guizot upon the aspect of affairs in Europe and the chances of war and peace ; an admirable letter, as all his are. Reeve said that he had been told that Palmerston was likely to give utterance to some sentiments very anti-Austrian, and in favour of Italian nationality, than which nothing could be more mischievous or more conducive to the objects of Louis Napoleon. This seemed to me so inconsistent with the spirit of moderation and good sense which I had remarked in the letters I had already seen of Palmerston's that I said I could not think it possible that he was meditating anything of the sort, and I was greatly surprised when Clarendon replied, and George Lewis agreed with him, that nothing was more possible, and that he should not be at all surprised if he expressed sentiments which were very much those which he had always entertained. Of course they both deprecated any such language in the strongest manner. When I got to town I told Reeve what had passed, and he then told me his authority for what he had written, and that his informant had gathered it from conversations with Palmerston himself. It was at all events satisfactory to find that the language of the 'Times' had undergone no alteration, and that they adhered to the same judicious course and vigorous argumentation which they have all along adopted. Clarendon and George Lewis are equally afraid of what John Russell may say, but they are aware that though he may do considerable mischief, his dicta are infinitely less important than Palmerston's. Granville arrived last night from Paris and Rome, and I saw him for a

few minutes as I was starting to come here. I had just time to ascertain that his views are identical with those of Clarendon and George Lewis, and that his efforts will be joined to theirs in attempting to persuade both Palmerston and John Russell to refrain from saying anything which may serve as an encouragement to the Emperor, and George Lewis said that on Palmerston's language in the House of Commons the peace of the world might possibly depend. There seems no reason to doubt that one of the things which keeps the Emperor's mind in suspense and uncertainty is his desire to hear what passes in our Parliament, and to ascertain what amount of sympathy and support the Italian cause and a war against Austria are likely to find in this country. Palmerston must have already taken such a measure of the public feeling here as to know that any appeal to anti-Austrian and pro-Italian sympathies would meet with no response either in or out of Parliament. The most, therefore, that he will probably venture to do will be strenuously to recommend a complete neutrality, and that this country should determine to keep aloof from any contest that may ensue. This would be playing the Emperor's game, and might perhaps be more useful to him than any other course we could take, for it would find pretty general concurrence, and most likely elicit many expressions of opinions which the Emperor would be able with some plausibility to construe in the manner most favourable to his own pretensions and designs.

*January 31st.*—Dined with Lord Salisbury on Saturday at the Sheriffs' dinner, when I met all the Cabinet, except Malmesbury, Hardwicke, and John Manners. Derby told me a curious thing. An experiment was made of the possible speed by which a telegraphic message could be sent and an answer got. They fixed on Corfu, made every preparation, and sent *one word*. The message and return were effected in six seconds. I would not have believed this on any other authority.

Granville is just come from Paris, where he spent a week; he saw and conversed with everybody, beginning with the

Emperor and ending with Thiers. All the Ministers he talked to, Walewski, Fould, and Rouher, are dead against war, Morphy the same, Baroche said to be for it, and Fleury, who wants to distinguish himself in the field. The Emperor talked over the whole question and assured him he had not committed himself to the King of Sardinia, but on the contrary had told him he would not support him if he committed any imprudence towards Austria. Granville's impression is that the question is adjourned for the present, owing to the clear manifestation in France, but much more to the unanimous tone of the German and English Press. He is, however, waiting in great anxiety for the debates in our Parliament, and still hopes for some anti-Austrian expression which may favour his own views. He has such a contempt for his own nation and for the opinions of the French people that these last do not weigh much with him, and he fancies that they may be at any moment changed and run in a warlike current. Granville thinks our Government have acted properly throughout these transactions, so far as he can judge.

*February 5th.*—Parliament opened on Thursday with, as everybody owned, a very good speech, and the discussions in both Houses were in a very good tone, and all that could be desired as to foreign policy. It will be impossible for the Emperor to derive from what passed a single word from any quarter favourable to his projects. The disappointment of his expectations in this respect may be very annoying to him, and possibly induce him still to defer his final resolution, but it is too much to hope that the language of our Parliament will turn him altogether from his design. Indeed it has now become equally difficult for him to advance without danger or to retreat without discredit, and in his position discredit is in itself fraught with danger.

*February 12th.*—The Emperor Napoleon's speech, looked for with so much anxiety here, arrived a few hours after its delivery on Monday last, and was on the whole regarded as rather pacific than the contrary, but still so reserved and

ambiguous that it might mean anything or lead to anything or nothing. The general opinion seems to be that nothing will take place *for the present*. The Government have begun their campaign so quietly, and with so little disturbance or threatening of any, that if such calm appearances were not often fallacious, one should predict their passing smoothly through the session ; but when one thinks of this time last year, of the apparent strength and security of Palmerston's Government, and of the suddenness of his fall, it is impossible to rely upon the continuance of this unclouded sky.

*February 19th.*--The general complaint is that nothing is done in Parliament, and that there is a general apathy, under the continuance of which the Government gets on without hindrance, while their faults or blunders pass unchecked. The Chancellor incurred a momentary odium by his attempt at perpetrating a very shameless job by making his son-in-law a Judge in Lunacy without having any qualifications for such an office ; but after a little spurt in the House of Commons, the result of which was the appointment being rescinded, the matter quietly dropped. Gladstone's extravagant proceedings at Corfu<sup>1</sup> have elicited something like an attack led on by Lord Grey, but although this subject will probably be more seriously and warmly discussed after he comes home, it does not seem likely to lead to much at present, and Derby will probably parry Grey's attack on Monday next.

*February 27th.*--Derby prevailed on Grey to defer his Ionian motion till Gladstone's return, which he said would be in a fortnight at least. Palmerston had given notice of his intention to call the attention of the House of Commons to the present state of Europe, and to ask if the Government could give the country any information on the subject. The Government tried to persuade him to defer his intention, but without effect, and he persisted in his course. In the meanwhile

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Gladstone had accepted, temporarily, the office of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, under Lord Derby's Government. His proceedings there excited great surprise in England. The eventual result of his mission was the surrender of the Protectorate of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece.]

Cowley suddenly arrived in England, sent for by the Government, as it was said, for the purpose of receiving instructions in respect to the conferences expected at Paris on the Danubian affairs. On Thursday morning the world was electrified at reading an article in the 'Times' stating that Cowley was going on a special mission to Vienna for the purpose of making matters up, if possible, between France and Austria. The day before I had been apprised of the fact by Granville, who had heard it from Clarendon, to whom Cowley had imparted the secret of his mission. The mission was in fact one rather from the Emperor than from our Government, who had really done nothing whatever, but were too happy to allow Cowley to go and try his hand in patching matters up. He has done it all off his own bat. Seeing how day after day war appeared to be becoming more imminent, he resolved to see if he could not do something to arrest the evil ; he found the French Ministers quite agreed with him, and the Emperor in a state of mingled rage, disappointment, and perplexity, clinging with his characteristic tenacity to the designs on which his mind has been so long fixed, and to which he probably stands committed more than we are aware of, by his own professions, and by his cousin, who no doubt gave Cavour to understand he might certainly count upon the Emperor's aid. This course also he is the more reluctant to abandon, as he has certainly persuaded himself, or has been persuaded by others, that in no other way can he secure himself from the attempts of Italian conspirators and assassins, so that it is personal fear which is the real ground of what is called his policy. On the other hand, he is intensely disgusted and enraged at finding the whole feeling and opinion of England so decidedly pronounced against him, and that in no quarter whatever, neither in Parliament nor the press, which represents the mind of the whole country, nor in any public men, can he find the slightest sympathy or encouragement, or anything but the most indignant disapprobation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The war of 1859 is now judged of more favourably than it was at the time of its inception, and the result obtained the independence and

The sentiment of England is if possible still stronger in the same sense in Germany, and it is universal in France, where it is only prevented from manifesting itself with as much force and vivacity as in Germany and here by the fettered and subservient condition of the Press. In addition to this I am informed that the project of war is not popular with the army itself ; and as it is not morally certain that by plunging into war the Emperor will be secure from the danger of assassination, and there is at least as good a chance of war bringing with it perils of another sort quite as formidable, so his very selfishness makes him doubt and waver, and inclines him to listen to the remonstrances which are addressed to him. Upon this uncertain and varying state of mind Cowley has been endeavouring to work, and he has so far succeeded as to have been entrusted by the Emperor with a commission to go to Vienna and negotiate with the Austrian Government a settlement of their differences, or rather, as there are in fact no differences to settle, to obtain from the Austrian Government some concessions by virtue of which he may be enabled to withdraw from his present false position without discredit, by which means he unification of Italy—has led men to condone the tortuous and deceitful policy by which it was arrived at. The object of M. de Cavour was a noble one, although the means he employed were unscrupulous. The chief motive of the Emperor Napoleon was the fear of his old allies the Carbonari. Orsini's attempt on his life had powerfully affected him.

To English statesmen of all parties (with one or two exceptions) it was apparent that the declaration of war by France on Austria was the destruction of the great compact of 1815, which (whatever may have been its defects) had given forty-four years of peace to the Continent of Europe, and which had survived the Revolution of 1848 and the Crimean contest of 1854. It was the first outbreak of the military power of the French Empire, and it was likely to lead to future wars, as the result has proved. The defeat of Austria and the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation in 1866 was the result of the combined action of Prussia and Italy, north and south of the Alps ; and the Franco-German War of 1870 was the result of the military ascendancy Prussia had thus acquired in Europe. The policy of England was simply based on the principle that the duration of peace depended on the maintenance of the existing territorial arrangements of Europe.—H. R.]

may give satisfaction to France and Europe, though at the risk of disappointing Sardinia and exasperating the Italian Carbonari.

When Palmerston's discussion came on upon Friday last, it was already known (through the '*Times*') that Cowley was going to Vienna, though he himself had told nobody of this expedition (except Clarendon), and he evidently did not mean it should have been proclaimed. On Friday, Disraeli and Malmesbury said nothing of Cowley's mission, but they both announced that the Papal territories would be evacuated by the French and Austrian troops, and the public inferred that this evacuation was going to take place by a mutual agreement, and everybody asked, 'Why then is Cowley going to Vienna?' but the truth was that the Pope had requested the two Governments to withdraw their troops, and one of Cowley's objects is to procure the assent of Austria to that withdrawal, France having no doubt agreed to it on certain conditions, of which I do not know the details, but which are committed to the management of Cowley. Clarendon seemed to think that there was now more danger of the pacific purpose of Cowley being obstructed at Vienna than at Paris, for he said that the Austrians are so proud, and moreover so greatly incensed at the conduct of France, that it is very doubtful whether they will be induced to make any concessions at all, and whether the Emperor of Austria will not prefer to encounter all the danger of war, prepared as he is, than consent to anything which should have the appearance of humbling himself before the outrageous pretences and intolerable insolence of the Emperor of the French.

In the midst of the absorbing interest of this great question, the Government Reform Bill is coming on. They appear to have thought it adviseable to bespeak the good word of the '*Times*', and accordingly they sent Delane a copy of their Bill. This morning the heads of it appear in the '*Times*' with an approving article. Mild as it appears to be, it is too strong for Walpole and Henley, who have resigned, but why they did not resign before it is difficult to understand. At

Kent House yesterday afternoon there was a little gathering of Clarendon, Charles Wood, and George Lewis, when they all agreed that if the Government measure was such a one as they could possibly support, their proper policy would be to assist the Government in carrying it.

*March 1st.*—According to all political calculations Cowley's mission ought to succeed, but I feel no confidence in his success, and rather believe that the Emperor Napoleon is acting with his usual duplicity and treachery, and duping Cowley to gain time, which is necessary to his plans.<sup>1</sup> It is revolting to see that the peace of the world and so much of the happiness or misery of mankind depend upon the caprice and will and the selfish objects and motives of a worthless upstart and adventurer, who is destitute of every principle of honour, good faith, or humanity, but who is unfortunately invested with an enormous power for good or evil. And this is the end of fifty years of incessant movement, of the progress of society, of the activity and developement of the human intellect in the country which is eternally mouthing about its superior civilisation and its mission to extend the benefits of that civilisation over the whole world.

Disraeli brought forward his Reform Bill last night in a well-set speech, only too elaborate. It was coolly received, except by its most angry opponents, who lost no time in denouncing it.

*March 3rd.*—It would be difficult to say what the feeling of the House of Commons really is on the subject of the Government Reform Bill. The night it came out everybody who spoke spoke against it. The Ultra-Reformers, from Bright down to John Russell, naturally express nothing but

<sup>1</sup> [This was the fact. It was not known until long afterwards that positive engagements had been entered into at Plombières between the Emperor and M. de Cavour in the preceding autumn, including the marriage of Prince Napoleon to the daughter of the King of Sardinia, and the cession of Savoy and Nice as a compensation for the conquest of Northern Italy. Cavour had the Emperor in his power, and threatened, if he drew back, to publish the correspondence. See *infra*, p. 244.]

abhorrence and contempt for such a measure; half-and-half Reformers, who consider Reform a necessity, and who would be glad to have the question settled for the present on such easy terms, do not venture to say much in its favour; and the Whigs generally, particularly at their head-quarters, Brooks's, discuss with much variety of opinion whether the second reading ought to be resisted or not, the prevailing opinion being that the principle of the Bill (which is the equalisation of town and county franchise) is so inadmissible that it ought to be rejected, and they come to that conclusion the more readily because they think its rejection in that stage would put an end to the Government. On the other hand, Derby brought together two hundred of his supporters the day after the Bill appeared, and obtained their assent to it, and an engagement to support it. The resignations of Henley and Walpole have been prejudicial to the Government. Their explanations, which were full of half-suppressed bitterness towards their colleagues, were considered damaging, and to have revealed trickery on the part of Derby, though they seem to me to have rather exhibited weakness on the part of the retiring Ministers. But what they have clearly shown is the extreme penury of the party in point of intellectual resources, when they can find no man of any weight or reputation to fill up the vacancies. But if the Government is weak, and their position very precarious, the state of the Opposition is at least as deplorable, for there is no union or agreement amongst them, and Granville acknowledged to me last night that if Derby should fall on the second reading, and Palmerston be sent for, as it may be expected he would be, by the Queen, it is impossible to see how another Government could be formed. This state of affairs and the magnitude of the embarrassment will probably at last make some of those who so obstinately insisted upon their being right in resigning last year after the defeat of the Conspiracy Bill, begin to think that they would have done better to accept the rebuke and stay in. All that is now occurring serves to confirm my own opinion upon that point.

Since Cowley's arrival at Vienna nothing has been heard of his mission, but there is nothing apparent tending to lead to the conclusion that he has been able to do any good, and the general impression is that the Emperor Napoleon is only endeavouring to gain time, and making a tool of Cowley in hopes of thereby committing this country in some degree to his ulterior designs, and there are not wanting persons who believe that it will after all be against this country that his arms will be turned, and not against Austria.

*March 8th.*—On Saturday morning the 'Times' published the article in the 'Moniteur' (evidently the Emperor's composition), in which a formal denial was given to the imputed warlike intentions of France. The general impression produced by this manifesto was that the Emperor had at last been diverted from his purpose by the various manifestations which he had seen at home as well as abroad, and that he had resolved to abandon it altogether. Many, however, refused to believe in this happy result, and thought that he was only trying to throw dust in the eyes of the world, and endeavouring to gain time. All things considered, I incline to believe that he has resolved to postpone his warlike designs *sine die*, though retaining his wish to employ the vast means on which he has expended so much money, and looking forward to some pretext which the chapter of accidents may afford him to execute his purpose.

Strenuous efforts are making to bring about an understanding and agreement between the Whig leaders as to opposing the Government Bill, in which nobody is so active as George Lewis, who being very intimate with John Russell, and much in his confidence, and at the same time still on a footing of an adherent of Palmerston, is better qualified than any one to form a link between the two and to produce a mutual accord. John Russell has drawn up certain Resolutions which he intends to move on the second reading. These Resolutions have been shown to George Grey and to Palmerston, who have agreed to support them, and it may be presumed that if

all the Whig leaders, or even most of them, take this course, they will be followed by the majority of the rank and file. The Government and their friends are considerably alarmed at this hostile demonstration, and the more disappointed because they had been led to believe that Palmerston intended to support the second reading, and they knew that many moderate Whigs were inclined to take the same course. Some may do so still, but if the rival leaders can agree upon an attack on the Bill, though they may be agreed on nothing else, it is certainly probable that the Government will be beaten. Then will come the question of dissolution or resignation. This will probably depend on the amount and composition of the majority, and it will be a knotty point for Derby to decide upon.

*Savernake, March 9th.*—I met George Lewis at the Athénæum yesterday, and had a talk about the state of affairs here. He told me that the whole Liberal party, he believed, would support John Russell's Resolutions. There had been considerable doubt at first whether the second reading of the Bill should be opposed or not, but upon a close examination of the Bill they found that it was such a dishonest measure that it could not be allowed to pass, and therefore it was better to throw it out at once. Palmerston and Lord John are now on very good terms. Lord John had sent his Resolutions to Palmerston, and Palmerston had sent him word he would support whatever he proposed. Lewis thinks, though there is no agreement between them further than this with regard to the Reform Bill, that if this Government falls, and the Whigs return to power, means will be found of adjusting the rival pretensions of the two leaders, and getting them to act together. To effect this, his reliance is mainly on the Queen, who he thinks may and will exert her influence and authority for this end. There is, however, a notion abroad that if John Russell persists in his Resolutions, the Government will withdraw the first clause, which is tantamount to withdrawing the Bill itself. Lewis believes in this intention, and that if they do it they will become so unpopular, and incur so much discredit, that it will

be impossible for them to go on or to attempt a dissolution. Another notion is that they will withdraw the Bill, and endeavour to go on without any Bill at all, trusting to the Opposition not daring to propose a vote of want of confidence, which it is very doubtful if they could carry. The only thing clear is that they are very anxious to turn the Government out, and to take their chance of the consequences. Their success seems not at all unlikely, but when they have accomplished their object their embarrassments will begin. First there will be Lord John and Palmerston, then *l'embarras des richesses* of the numerous candidates for office, and settling who is to come in and who are to be thrown overboard.

*March 15th.*--Cowley arrived from Vienna on Saturday. I have not yet seen him, but Clarendon told me yesterday that he brings back the most satisfactory assurances on the part of Austria, who is ready to give every pledge of her pacific intentions, and to come to any agreement with France upon the withdrawal of both their forces from the Papal States, but that she will make no concessions inconsistent with her rights and her dignity, or which could seem to damp the enthusiasm now prevailing in Germany in her favour; in fact, that she has no concessions to make. Within the last few days the symptoms from France have been more menacing. At Paris the conviction is general that war is meant, and I am obliged to believe it likewise. The resignation of Prince Napoleon seems to have been a mere sham, and his intimacy with the Emperor as close as ever. There is no reason to believe that the military preparations in France are suspended, and in Piedmont they are certainly going on actively.

The other great topic of interest, viz. the Reform Bill and John Russell's Resolutions, does not look in a more satisfactory state. While many sensible people deprecate this move of John Russell's, and lament that Palmerston should have consented to support it, the probability seems that it will be carried, but the greatest uncertainty prevails as to the course which the Government will adopt, and whether they will try to

go on, dropping their Bill altogether, or continue the fight with its remaining clauses, or whether they will take the chance of a dissolution. It is now clear enough that Derby made a great blunder in undertaking to deal with the question of Reform at all, and that a consistent Conservative course would have been the most honourable and the wisest, and have afforded him the best chance of staying in office. By bringing forward a measure to the principle of which it is well known that he and his whole Government and party are in their hearts adverse, and then trying to vitiate the principle by certain contrivances in the details, by which the scruples of his own party may be obviated, he exposes himself to the charge of producing a dishonest measure, and this is what the Whigs urge as their ground for attacking it in front and at once. This is what Lewis said to me, 'We are bound to defeat a measure which is so dishonest that it is not susceptible of such improvement in Committee as would warrant our passing it.' The conduct of the Whigs, however, is not a whit more honest. Their allegation is a mere pretext, and their real motive is that they think they see their way back to office through an attack upon the Government Bill; they are indifferent to the consequences, and all they want is to get the coast clear for themselves, and take the chance of settling the difficult questions which will arise as to the formation of a Government and the conditions on which it can be formed. All this appears to me quite as dishonest as anything the Government have done or are doing. Palmerston never was a Reformer. He was opposed as much as he dared and could be even to the great measure of 1832, which all the world was for. When he brought forward a measure of his own two or three years ago, he did it without sincerity or conviction, and merely for a party object, and now he is uniting with John Russell without any real agreement with him in opinion, and with full knowledge that if they succeed and climb into office on the ruins of the Government Bill he will be obliged to propose a measure much stronger than he believes to be either necessary or safe. Believing that

Palmerston and John Russell were agreed no further than upon the Resolutions on Monday next, I thought that a difference must arise between them (in the event of their coming into office) on the Reform Bill they should produce, but I was told just now that upon this point they are already nearly if not completely agreed. They are, however, not yet agreed upon the great question of the Premiership, or which of them shall go to the House of Lords. The impatience and confidence of Lord John seems to be unbounded, and in spite of his being the younger by seven years, his eagerness to be in office again much more intense than that of Palmerston. Although this is such a miserable Government, both discreditable and incompetent, and it is a misfortune to have the country ruled by such men, I cannot desire the success of such selfish and unpatriotic manœuvres as those by which the Whigs are endeavouring to supplant them, and consequently I regard the whole state of affairs with indescribable disgust and no small apprehension. I believe the country to be in nearly equal danger from Louis Napoleon abroad and Mr. Bright at home, and I fear that there is no capacity in the Government to cope with the one, and no such amount of wisdom and patriotism amongst the chief men of all parties as is requisite to defeat the designs of the other.

*March 16th.*—Cowley called on me yesterday at the Council Office. He said that he had never believed there would be war, and he did not expect it now ; that all the agitation and turmoil that had been vexing Europe for the last three months were to be attributed to the conduct of Cavour and his attempts to drag France into assisting Piedmont in her aggressive policy, and to misunderstandings which had been produced by the strange conduct of the French Government, the imprudent speech of the Emperor to Hübler on January 1st, and the ambiguous manifestations which had followed it. To comprehend all these things it was necessary to be acquainted with the whole course of Cavour's policy and his dealings with France, and to understand the peculiar character of the Emperor and

the motives and impulses by which he is actuated. When Austria refused to join England and France in the Russian War, Cavour thought that an opportunity presented itself of which he might take advantage, and which would lead to a realisation of his views for the aggrandisement of Piedmont, and he offered to join the alliance and send an army to the Crimea. This offer (as Cowley thinks very imprudently and unfortunately) was accepted. He thinks it was unwise, because the assistance of Piedmont was not required, and could not have any material effect on the result of the contest, while it was sure to excite hopes and expectations, and to give rise to demands which would be afterwards found very inconvenient and embarrassing. Accordingly Cavour took the earliest opportunity of expressing his hopes that when peace should return Sardinia and her services would not be overlooked. General expressions of goodwill were given, but Cowley cannot answer for what more the Emperor may have said.

His account of his mission does not quite correspond with what I had before heard of it, and is an additional proof of the difficulty of arriving at truth. He told me that he had written to Malmesbury and told him he thought it very expedient to send somebody to Vienna to talk to Buol and the Emperor, and to try and mediate between Austria and France, to which Malmesbury had replied he had better go himself, as nobody else would be so likely to effect the object. The consent of Buol having been previously obtained, he proposed it at Paris, where his services were gladly accepted. He had already spoken very openly to the Emperor, and told him very plain truths as to his position and his conduct, and when he went he told His Majesty without disguise what his intentions were and his wishes, and what he desired that Austria should do. The Emperor was very frank, totally disclaimed any wish to make war, but said he should like Austria to do certain things, which amounted to full security for Piedmont and renunciation of any unfair and unjustifiable predominance in Italy. He found them at Vienna more angry than alarmed ; suspicious,

but not unreasonable ; their military condition so good and powerful that, believing France really bent on attacking them, there was a very general feeling that it was better war should come at once than have it indefinitely hanging over them, and at first it seemed unlikely that they would return any conciliatory assurances which he might carry back to France. At last, however, he got them to say what he thought was as much as could be expected from them, and what ought to satisfy the French Government. Since he left Paris (now three weeks ago or more) he has not had a line from thence, and he is wholly ignorant of the march of affairs during his absence ; but he hopes and expects to find a pacific disposition, and his object is to prevail on the Emperor to put an end to the general state of uncertainty and alarm by announcing to Sardinia that she is in no danger from Austria, and that therefore no assistance from France will be necessary, and she may safely desist from her warlike preparations. This is in fact the only way by which the crisis can be put an end to, and if the Emperor really has been sincere in his professions and means to make his acts correspond with them, he will forthwith put forward some clear and unambiguous declaration, and some definite communication to Piedmont which will leave no room for doubt or suspicion, and restore confidence and tranquillity to Europe again.

*March 22nd.*—Yesterday the ‘Times’ announced that a Congress had been agreed upon, which was believed, so the funds rose and there was a general belief that a solution was at hand, but it turns out not to be true. The Emperor wishes for one as a means by which he may back out of his scrape, which Cowley writes is now his object, but it is impossible to believe that Austria will listen to it, and Clarendon thinks that she would do wrong to consent to it, and that we should get into a scrape by being a party to it, as no reliance whatever can be placed on the good faith or honesty of France, who would deceive us and Austria, as she has often done before.

Yesterday the Neapolitan exiles arrived at an hotel in Dover Street in several hack cabs, decorated with laurels, and preceded

by a band of music. I did not see the men, but saw the empty cabs ; there was no crowd.

Nothing could be more uninteresting than the first evening of the debate on John Russell's Resolutions last night. Lord March told me in the morning that the Government would certainly dissolve as soon as the Resolutions were carried. Every day makes the folly of Derby more apparent in bringing in any Reform Bill at all.

*March 24th.*—When I think of the Reform Bill of 1832, and compare the state of affairs at that time with that of the present time, nothing can be more extraordinary. Then the interest was intense, the whole country in a fever of excitement, the Press rabid, the clamour for Reform all but universal, party running tremendously high, no doubt or hesitation about individual wishes and opinions, and each camp perfectly united in itself, and full of energy and zeal. In this condition of the public mind and of politics the debates began and continued. This debate has begun and seems likely to continue, how differently ! There are neither zeal nor union on one side or the other, everybody is dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and nobody can see a satisfactory issue from the general embarrassment. There have been two nights of debate, and as yet all the speaking has been one way, all on the anti-Reform side. John Russell was flat, and Stanley, who replied to him, actually read his speech, which, though it was much complimented by his own friends, seems to have been far from effective. Horsman made a very good speech the first night, and Bulwer Lytton spoke with great eloquence and effect on Tuesday, far better than anybody thought he could speak, and the Solicitor-General made a magnificent speech, in which he attacked John Russell with great vigour and complete success. The only tolerable speech on the Opposition side was Sidney Herbert's. Nobody has the least idea what course the Government will take of the three open to them, whether they will resign, dissolve, or go on with the second reading. The inference from Stanley's speech was that they will dissolve, but Lytton

and Cairns seemed anxious to do away with the impression that speech had made, and one is led to infer from what they said that the Government will most likely proceed to the second reading, which would probably be their wisest and certainly their most popular course. The majority of those who are going to vote for the Resolution's do so unwillingly, and would have preferred going into Committee, or to have fought the battle on the second reading. As it is, if Government do not throw up their cards, the second reading is in my opinion sure to pass, and not improbably the Bill itself with great alterations.

The state of foreign affairs is as uncertain as ever. So incurable is the distrust of the Emperor Napoleon that the greatest doubts prevail whether he means peace or war, and whether even this Congress which he is trying to bring about is not a mere dodge for the purpose of gaining time, and in order to extract out of it a plausible case for a complete breach with Austria.

Gladstone is come back from Italy completely duped by Cavour, who has persuaded him that Piedmont has no ambition or aggressive objects, and that Austria alone is guilty of all the trouble in which the world has been plunged. He told this to Aberdeen, who treated his delusions and his credulity with the utmost scorn and contempt, but he is said to have found John Russell more credulous, and ready to accept Gladstone's convictions.

*March 26th.*—The debate goes on, to the intense disgust of everybody, though enlivened by a few clever and telling speeches. But everybody is disgusted with the whole affair, from which all see that no good can come, and probably much mischief will ensue. The Government side continues to have the best of the debate, Horsman, who spoke for them, and Lytton and Cairns having been very superior to all the speakers on the other side. On Friday Palmerston spoke, with great vigour, but not much effect. His speech was very jaunty, but very insincere. When he said that he cordially supported the

Resolutions of his noble friend, everybody knew that it was not true, that he really disapproved of them, and that he only consented to go with Lord John in order to evince his willingness to make up their political difference, and to lend himself to the 'reunion' of all the Whig party ; but in his speech he said enough to show that there is not likely to be an entire or lasting agreement between them, and that the two Kings of Brentford will not long continue to smell at the same nosegay. The Opposition have been all along quite confident of victory on the Resolutions, and it has been impossible to make sure of the intentions of the Government in the event of their being beaten, as they have severally held such very different language on the point.

But an incident has occurred which is very likely to extricate the Government from their difficulty, and of which I presume they will avail themselves. Owen Stanley (brother of Stanley of Alderley) the other night blurted out, without previous concert with anybody, a notice of a motion of want of confidence in the event of the second reading not passing. The Opposition are unanimously disgusted at this piece of folly and meddling, while the Government are of course delighted at such a plank of safety being held out to them, and if they use it dexterously they may completely defeat Lord John and Palmerston, and prolong their own tenure of office for some time at least.

*April 1st.*—The great debate came to an end last night. The majority was greater than either side expected, and the Government and their friends were sanguine to the last that they should win by a few votes.<sup>1</sup> Although there was a great deal of tedious speaking, it was on the whole a very able and creditable debate, and there were several very powerful speeches, but principally on the side of the minority. Gladstone's was particularly good, and Dizzy's reply, with a very effective philippic against John Russell, was exceedingly clever, and

<sup>1</sup> [The numbers were : for the second reading of the Bill 291, for Lord John Russell's Resolutions 330; majority against the Government 39.]

delivered with much dignity and in very good taste. Although the question of Reform was regarded with so much indifference, as the debate proceeded and party spirit and emulation waxed hot, the interest and curiosity became intense. They have become still more intense to-day, and the town is in a state of feverish anxiety to know what is going to happen, and, as usual on such occasions, there are a thousand reports, speculations, and guesses afloat. This morning the prevalent idea was that they would resign, but this evening, and since Derby's brief notice in the House of Lords, it is rather that they will dissolve. Certainly the Queen might very well refuse her consent to a dissolution if proposed to her, and this would of course compel the Government to resign; but nobody knows whether she wishes Derby to stay in, or would prefer to take the chance of forming another Ministry. I have no idea that happen what may she will send for Lord John Russell; but no doubt she knows all that has recently passed between him and Palmerston, and about the formation of another Government, and it is not impossible that she may shrink from being plunged into the difficulties which would attend the attempts to form a Government in which they were to divide the power and authority between them.

*April 4th.*—The report yesterday was that Derby does not mean to resign or dissolve, or to go on with the present Bill, but perhaps bring in a fresh one. As we shall hear it all this evening, it is useless to speculate on the subject. The Opposition are evidently puzzled what to do. I went to Kent House, where Lewis said the Government were much mistaken if they imagined they should be left alone; he did not know what would be done, but certainly they must look to be attacked in some shape or other. Granville in the evening took the opposite line, and said the best party game would be to let them alone. Nothing, however, will ever induce John Russell to keep quiet.

Clarendon came in, and we talked of foreign affairs. He thinks war inevitable, and that the French are only gaining

time to complete their preparations. I said I thought Cowley had been duped by the Emperor, but he thought not. Cowley had all along seen all the objections to the proposed Congress and suspected the *arrière-pensée* of it, but said it was impossible when proposed to object to it, as the Emperor would put forward such a refusal as a pretext, and say that it would have prevented war. Two years ago he had a reliance upon the Emperor which he had no longer; that he was completely changed now from what he was, and it was difficult to know what he really meant, and when he was sincere or the reverse. Clarendon told us he had lately seen Marliani, an old acquaintance of his, a Spanish Liberal and friend of Cavour's. Marliani said that the Italian question was ill understood in England, and he had come over for the express purpose of seeing Clarendon and talking it over with him, and putting before him a paper he had written upon it. The conversation was curious. Clarendon told him he was quite mistaken if he thought the Government or any other Government could take any part at variance with the existing treaties, or that the country would allow them to do so, even if inclined. He then asked him what his friend Cavour meant to do in the dilemma in which he had got himself and his country, and expressed very strong opinions on his conduct. Marliani replied that it was not quite just to censure Cavour with such severity, and without considering his position, that during his whole life his most ardent desire and fixed idea was that of purging Italy of the Austrians and aggrandising his own country; and now when he saw before him the probable realisation of his fond hopes, that he was backed up and encouraged by the master of 300,000 men in the game he was playing, and taught to rely upon that aid, could it be wondered at that he should yield to the seduction? Clarendon asked what would happen if the Emperor proved faithless to him, as he had done to others, and in what position Cavour would find himself. Marliani replied that he had no hesitation in telling him what he thought need not be a secret, at least to him, as he was sure Cavour would tell Clarendon

himself if he saw him, and that Cavour had fully made up his mind what to do. If the Emperor ended by throwing over the Italian cause and refused to go to war, Cavour would resign, the King would abdicate, and the whole correspondence with all the Emperor's letters (of which they had an immense number) would be published and circulated over all Europe to show the baseness and perfidy of the man in whom they had trusted, and to force him to hide his head from the indignation and contempt of the world. Everything indicates that, whether from fear of this vindictive explosion or because he thinks it his policy, he is hastening his preparations, has renewed his engagements to Cavour, and that he means to go to war as soon as he can.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Government determine to dissolve the Parliament—Apathy of the Country—Hopes and Fears as to the War—The Congress a Trick—Disraeli on the approaching Elections - War declared—Mr. Greville resigns the Clerkship of the Council—Result of the Elections—Mistakes of the Austrian Government - Policy of the Opposition—Reconciliation of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell —The Reconciliation doubtful Meeting of the Liberal Party - Resolution of the Meeting --Debate on the Resolution of Want of Confidence—Defeat of Ministers—Lord Derby resigns -Lord Granville sent for by the Queen—Lord Granville does not form a Government — Lord Palmerston sent for — Lord Palmerston's Second Administration—The Queen confers the Garter on Lord Derby—Successful Progress of the French in Italy—Causes of Lord Granville's Failure -Lord John claims the Foreign Office—Lord Clarendon declines to take Office - Lord Clarendon's Interview with the Queen —Mr. Cobden declines to take Office . The Armistice of Villafranca—Peace concluded The Terms of Peace --Position of the Pope Disappointment of Italy. Conference of the Emperors—Alleged Sensitiveness of the Emperor Napoleon—Details of the War—A Visit to Ireland - Irish National Education -- Dublin — Howth Castle — Waterford-- Killarney—Return from Ireland—Numerous Cabinets—A Dispute with China—Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell—Lord Clarendon at Osborne—Spain and Morocco—The Duc d'Aumale—Perplexity of the Emperor Napoleon—The Emperor Napoleon and the 'Times.'

*April 7th, 1859.*—The determination of the Government, announced in both Houses on Monday evening, took the world by surprise. Nobody thought there would be a dissolution. Derby's speech was very bad, much below his usual level. The attack on John Russell which formed a chief part of it was merely a *réchauffé* of that of Disraeli, but very inferior to it in every respect. Disraeli in the other House spoke

much better, and with more taste and temper. The Opposition leaders are evidently much taken aback ; the Derbyites assert that they have reason to expect a gain of forty votes, but nobody believes it. Many think a much more Radical and an angry Parliament will be returned, but there is no excitement, and it seems to me more probable that those are right who think the relative proportions will not be materially altered. The Whig chiefs are very angry with John Russell for committing himself as he did on Monday night by his speech and announcement of his own plan of Reform. Great attempts were made to dissuade him from doing this, but he would not listen to reason. Palmerston made a speech clearly indicative of disagreement with Lord John, though with a semblance of union. The Resolutions on one side and the Dissolution on the other have both been great faults, of which the mischievous consequences may be very serious, but which cannot be made manifest till we see the result of the election.

*April 15th.*—I have been reading over to George Lewis my account of what took place about the Reform Bill of 1832, to assist him in reviewing that period of history, and in so doing it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between the public excitement which prevailed then and the apathy and absence of interest which we witness now. At every general election there is a great deal of bustle, activity, party zeal, and contention, but there are not more of these now than on ordinary occasions, if anything less. Both parties are confident that they shall gain, and the Derbyites are making great efforts, and have collected a very large sum of money. Derby has given 20,000*l.* to the fund, but candidates are slack in coming forward with the prospect of the new Parliament not lasting many months. The question of peace or war is still in abeyance, but inclines rather towards war ; the public securities oscillate like a barometer, and people are puzzled and unable to form any opinion.

*April 20th.*—The long promised statements were made in both Houses on Monday night, but they told us nothing

that was not already known, and merely expressed hopes that war might still be averted. Disraeli in the Commons was more sanguine than Malmesbury and Derby in the Lords. Clarendon and Derby both made excellent speeches, the former particularly ; all he said was sound and true. The most striking thing in both Houses was the extreme caution and reserve of the speakers on both sides, and particularly their reticence and forbearance about France. Not one word of blame of the Emperor of the French ; no more about him, his sayings and doings, than about the Emperor of Russia, or than if he had had nothing whatever to do with the present state of things. This was probably politic, but it was lamentable and disgraceful that we should be obliged, or think ourselves obliged, to abstain from speaking the truth, for fear of offending this rascally adventurer, who by the egregious folly and cowardice of the French nation has been invested with such an awful power of mischief, and whom neither fear nor shame deters from pursuing his own wicked ends at the expense of any amount of misery and desolation which he may inflict upon mankind. One cannot help contrasting the extreme delicacy and forbearance exhibited towards him with the violence and abuse which were directed against the Emperor Nicholas in 1854.

I met Disraeli yesterday afternoon, when he told me they had got such satisfactory news from the Continent that he considered the affair as virtually settled and the danger at an end. God grant it may be so, but I am far from being satisfied that the danger is over. On the eve of great revolutions, and as the moment of taking an irrevocable step draws near, the actors in great events have generally some misgivings, and pause upon the brink, and so probably will these quasi-belligerents do now ; but I believe the concessions which France expresses herself willing to make to our entreaties to be a part of her game. Clarendon or Derby said that if Cowley had been allowed to work out his purpose of mediation, probably all would have been settled, and that

the proposition of Russia for a Congress had been mischievous, and only involved the question in fresh doubt and delay. But it appears evident that this was a French trick, and that Russia proposed the Congress at the instigation of France, who sought it for the purpose of delay, and most likely in order to extract from it a plausible cause of quarrel. Derby in his speech attributed a great deal to the menacing and disturbing speech of the King of Sardinia in opening his Chambers, but nobody said a word of Napoleon's sortie to the Austrian Minister on the 1st of January, nor was any allusion made to various important facts which were well known to many people in both Houses. No reproaches were cast upon Sardinia, but a good many upon Austria ; no comment made upon the flagrant breach by Sardinia of the treaties existing between her and Austria, and of the forbearance of the latter in not making that breach *a casus belli*, as she might well have done.

I went to a Council on Monday for the prorogation, when I had some conversation with Disraeli, and asked him what his real belief was as to their prospects in the election. He said there was so much luck in these matters that it was difficult to speak positively, but that he had endeavoured to ascertain the true probabilities of the result, and his conclusion was that *if they had luck* they should gain sixty votes ; and what, I asked, if there was no luck on one side or the other ? Then, he said, they should gain forty. I told him the Opposition calculators did not believe the Government would gain at all ; or at most not above eight or ten, if so many, and asked if he was confident they should gain from twenty to thirty anyhow. He said from the day of their taking office they had looked forward to a dissolution, that their organisation was excellent, they had plenty of candidates and of money, and he was quite confident they should gain that number and more ; he added that there was in no part of the country the slightest desire for Reform, and he had altered the address he had first intended to put forth, in consequence

of finding what the prevailing sentiment was on that question I suppose they hold this language to justify their dissolution, for it is difficult to believe they can really expect such results, or that their opponents, who tell such a different story, can be so completely mistaken.

*April 24th, Newmarket.*—Disraeli's information on Tuesday last, when I met him at Lady Jersey's, might well have warranted me in believing that no war would take place, but I have never been able to persuade myself that this calamity would be averted, and it appears that my apprehensions were well founded, for now the die seems to be really cast, and at the moment when I am writing it is probably actually declared and begun. Though Austria is perfectly justified in declining to wait any longer while France is maturing her preparations, and cannot justly be blamed for bringing the affair to a crisis, she is certain to be exposed to every sort of obloquy and misrepresentations even in this country, and of course much more in France.

*April 27th.*—On Monday we heard that the Austrians had sent their ultimatum to Sardinia, and there was a complete panic in the City. Yesterday we were informed that she had given fourteen days' grace to Sardinia, and everything was up again. But this morning we were undeceived, and found this latter report had no foundation. Meanwhile the clamour against Austria has been senseless and disgraceful; nothing could be more unworthy than Derby's allusion to her in his speech at the Mansion House dinner on Monday. It was a claptrap, and meant to obtain popularity and assist the Ministerial interest at the election. Nothing has ever disgusted me more than to see the readiness with which everybody finds fault with Austria, and the care with which they avoid any notice of France, not, however, that this can or will last. What sort of relations we shall continue to have with France I cannot imagine. We have been treated in a manner which puts an end to the possibility of any amicable feelings between the two countries. We can never trust the Emperor again,

and must take measures for our own security as best we may ; but unhappily the Indian war has so materially diminished our power and absorbed our resources, and France has so enormously gained upon us in point of naval strength, that we are not in a condition to hold the language and play the part that befit the dignity and the honour of the country. We can revile Austria with impunity, for we know that we are in no danger of an attack from her, but, on the contrary, that she has so much need of our good will that she will endure our taunts and reproaches, and not quarrel with us even in words. It was a prophetic saying of Mackintosh forty years ago at Roehampton that it remained to be proved whether the acquisition of our Indian Empire was in reality a gain to us, and we must hope that the remark will not be illustrated in our days by seeing England herself placed in danger by her exertions to retain or reconquer India, whose value is so problematical and of which nothing is certain but the immense labour and cost of her retention.

*May 14th.*—Another severe fit of the gout, principally in the right hand, has prevented my writing a line for the last fortnight, during which war has broken out, and the general election has been begun and ended, and, what is most important to myself, I have resigned my office. Hitherto the war and the election have equally disappointed the expectations they gave rise to. The Austrians committed a blunder in plunging into the war, and have not taken the only advantage such a measure seemed to promise, viz. that of overpowering the Sardinians before the French could join them, and now nobody can make out what their tactics are, or when and where the contest will begin in earnest. Meanwhile we are taking an imposing attitude of armed and prepared neutrality. Disraeli's anticipated sixty votes have dwindled down to a gain of twenty, but Malmesbury told Cowley that they should have force sufficient to maintain their ground, which I see their opponents do not believe.

*May 17th.*—The elections are nearly if not quite over, and,

as well as can be collected from the conflicting calculations of the rival parties, they present a gain of nearly thirty for the Government. With this they evidently hope and their opponents fear they will be able to go on at least to the end of the session, and I incline to think so likewise. Their Government is miserably weak and incapable, their numbers respectable, but their staff deplorable. It is expected they will propose to Lord Elgin to take Lytton's place. The general election has been eminently satisfactory in this, that it has elicited the completely Conservative spirit of the country. Palmerston, who predicted that the consequence would be a large increase of Radical strength, has been altogether mistaken. It may be added (whether this is a good or an evil) that it has also manifested the indifference of the country to all parties and to all political ties and connexions. In the last general election the cry was all for Palmerston, in this there has been no cry for anybody, neither for Palmerston nor Derby, and less than all for John Russell or Bright. And yet John Russell is flattering himself he shall have an opportunity of forming a Government, and talks of his regret at being obliged to leave out so many of his friends. It is remarkable that the Catholics have supported the Government, and that they have done so under orders from Rome. Archbishop Cullen is there, and has signified to the priests the pleasure of the Pope that the Derby Government should be supported. Clarendon told me this yesterday, and that the reason is because they think this Government more favourably inclined to Austria than any other, especially than either Palmerston or John Russell would be. The Papal Government have never forgiven the Whigs for the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and this accounts for the otherwise strange support given by the Catholics to those who have always been their bitterest enemies.

The war still languishes, and nobody can make out what the Austrian plans are. A great sensation has been made by the retirement of Buol and the appointment of Rechberg. The first report was that it was a sacrifice made to appease the

resentment of Russia, but Clarendon told me yesterday he did not believe this, but that it was rather to satisfy some of the German Powers whom Buol had deeply offended. Nothing could have exceeded the stupid blundering and misconduct of the Austrian Government during the last few critical weeks, and their want of tact towards Prussia and the German Powers. The Archduke Albrecht was sent to Germany for the purpose of stirring up the German Powers, and professedly to procure such a demonstration as should be the means of preventing war, and then, while the Archduke was still at Berlin, they blurted out their ultimatum (which was a declaration of war) without letting Prussia know what they were about. The Archduke was obliged to declare his own ignorance of the intentions of his Government, and Prussia consequently to announce her disapprobation of the measure and to signify the same to France, which was just what suited the Emperor Louis Napoleon. I hear also that his departure from Paris was accelerated by the necessity of repairing as speedily as possible to the seat of war, in order to quiet the dissensions and quarrels which were already raging between the French generals. Not a very promising beginning of the campaign. This used to be the case formerly in the great Napoleon's time wherever he was not present. His presence silenced these quarrels, but it remains to be seen whether this man will have equal authority over unruly subordinates, who cannot possibly regard him with the same deference with which the old marshals looked up to their mighty master.

*May 24th.*—The elections are all over, and the Opposition leaders are already busy in devising the means of attacking the Government. On Friday Palmerston went to Pembroke Lodge, and had a long conference with John Russell. On Sunday there was a gathering there, attended by Granville, George Lewis, Charles Wood, and probably others. The question immediately to be decided is whether an Amendment shall or not be moved to the Address. A very nice point of political strategy. The Whig leaders are impatient to drive

the Government to resignation, without, as I believe, knowing how they are to form a Government likely to be durable and strong. As matters stand, the Government appear to be too strong to be driven out, and not strong enough to count upon staying in. A greater fix can hardly be seen.

*May 26th.*—Palmerston and John Russell have now made up all their differences, and have come to a complete understanding and agreement on all points, so that the schism may be considered at an end. Upon Reform, upon foreign policy, upon the mode of opposition, they are fully agreed, and even upon their respective personal pretensions. Both are resolved not to quit the House of Commons, and Lord John himself says that the question of the Primacy must be determined by the Queen herself, and that whomever she may send for and charge with the formation of a Government must necessarily be Premier. There is not much doubt that this will be Palmerston, but what post Lord John would require for himself I have not heard. It may possibly be the Foreign Office, which Palmerston could hardly refuse to him, particularly as they are agreed on foreign policy, and Clarendon is not inclined to share their opinion. This reconciliation will be very favourable to Granville's pretensions, and secure to him the lead of the House of Lords, and not improbably, at some not very distant day, lead to his being Prime Minister. In this age of political Methuselahs it is an enormous advantage to be little more than forty years old. This state of affairs I heard at Brooks's from the Duke of Bedford. It was Lord John who took the initiative in their approaches to each other. He wrote to Palmerston, on which Palmerston repaired to Pembroke Lodge, where they had a long conversation, with the result aforesaid. Soon afterwards I met Disraeli in the street. He did not appear to me to be in very high spirits, and talked of the position and chances of his Government without any expressions of confidence, though without despondence. He said he hoped that they would move an Amendment to the Address, as it was better to fight it out at once and bring the question of strength to a crisis.

*May 29th.*-- It seems not unlikely that the Government may be after all relieved from the immediate danger of an Amendment by the divisions amongst the Opposition, or rather between the rival leaders. After all I was told of the meeting between Palmerston and Lord John, and the agreement they had come to on all the important points, I was astonished at hearing on Friday evening that everything was again thrown into uncertainty because Lord John would not say what he intended to do. On the important question of who should be Premier he would make no frank statement. He had, indeed, before said that the Queen must decide it, and the man she sent for would naturally be at the head of the Government ; but he refused to say whether, supposing Palmerston to be sent for, he would take office with and under him, or even whether he would sit in the House of Commons on or behind the Treasury Bench—in short, he would give no clear and positive assurance of his intentions. This is naturally very disgusting to the Whigs, and throws everything into doubt and confusion. The Duke of Bedford is to go down to him and tell him the plain truth, which no one else would venture to do, pointing out to him the effect of his conduct on the sentiments of the Liberal party and on his own position, with regard to which his conduct is indefensible and suicidal. It remains to be seen whether any effect will be produced on his mind, but in any case nothing can look more hopeless than it does, or promise worse for the future. Even though Lord John should consent to act under Palmerston (and nobody expects that it is Lord John for whom the Queen would send), there seems little hope of any cordial or lasting union between them, or of his being satisfied with any position in which he might consent to place himself, for his mind is evidently in a sour and jaundiced state. The majority of the Whig and Liberal party who are come up full of resentment from the elections are certainly desirous of attacking the Government, but there is a considerable number of them who are averse to joining in any vote of want of confidence, or any other move which may turn the

Government out without first being assured that another Government can be formed, and that the union is sufficiently complete to promise that such new Government would be strong enough to maintain itself when formed.

*June 6th.*—As I was at Epsom every day this week, I have heard nothing of what has been going on, except the fact that there is to be a great meeting of the Liberals at Willis's Rooms this afternoon, called by a list of people which includes Palmerston and Lord John and Milner Gibson, whose signature betokens the assent of the Radicals to the object of it, which I conclude to be an agreement as to the attack to be made on the Government to-morrow, and certain explanations as to the intentions and sentiments of the Whig leaders. I see that there are many dissentients from the course that is going to be adopted, many who think this attempt to oust the Government at once neither patriotic nor politic. Without any very decided opinion, or the means of forming one, I am rather inclined to think that it would be better to leave them alone and to trust to their furnishing good cause for turning them out, as they probably will do. The Government does not appear to be obnoxious to any serious reproach and objection, except about their mismanagement of foreign affairs. But it is very questionable whether another Government might not give us a policy equally or still more mischievous.

*June 7th.* —The meeting of the Opposition yesterday at Willis's Rooms went off as well as they could except or desire. The two leaders gave the required assurances that each would serve under the other, in the event of either being sent for. There was a general concurrence in the plan of attacking the Government at once, in which even Bright and Ellice joined, the former disclaiming any desire for office in his own person, but claiming it for his friends. The result promised is that with very few exceptions all the opponents or quasi-opponents of the Government will unite in supporting the vote of want of confidence, and they are very confident of success. On the other hand, the Derbyites do not despair of having a majority,

and they comfort themselves with the certainty that the division must be so close, that the successful Whigs will be able to form no Government which will have a certain working majority, and, not impossibly, that the majority itself may be turned into a minority by the events of the re-elections. This is not very probable, and it is rather more likely that if Palmerston forms a Government, he will have the support of a good many of those who will vote with the Government, as long as they remain in. There were, however, some rather ominous manifestations made at this meeting. It seemed to be agreed that the new Government should embrace not only Whigs and Peelites, but 'advanced Liberals,' *i.e.* the followers of Bright, and this, besides introducing the seeds of disunion, will probably frighten away the Liberal-Conservatives, who would like to support Palmerston, inasmuch as a Government so formed would afford little security for the maintenance of Conservative measures. Then Palmerston in no ambiguous terms announced his pro-Gallican sympathies, and the neutrality he declared for in every possible case which he could contemplate, together with his desire for a cordial union with France, can mean nothing but that under his rule England should look quietly on while France crushes Austria, and accomplishes all her ambitious and revolutionary objects. That this policy will be hateful to many who will be his colleagues cannot be doubted, but what is doubtful is whether those who will object to it will have virtue and firmness enough to decline office rather than be parties to such a policy.

*June 9th.*—There is great excitement about this debate and the probable division, and equal confidence on both sides of a majority. The Opposition is the favourite, but their friends will not lay any odds. Everybody says it must be very close, and on either side the majority will not exceed ten.\* On the first night Disraeli made a capital speech, and nobody else on their side would speak at all. This was a sort of manœuvre and attempt to bring about a division that night, for they found out that seventeen of the Opposition had not taken their seats,

which would have secured a majority to the Government. The Whigs therefore refused to divide, and put up one man after another to keep the debate open, and eventually obtained an adjournment. Palmerston's speech was in accordance with his declaration at Willis's, and with his ancient practice ; it was violently pro-French and anti-Austrian, and it was full of gross falsehoods and misrepresentations, which he well knew to be such. In his seventy-fifth year, and playing the last act of his political life, he is just what he always was.

*June 12th.*—After a not very remarkable debate the division yesterday morning gave a majority of thirteen to the Opposition, which was more than either side expected.<sup>1</sup> Derby resigned at eleven o'clock, and the Queen immediately after marked her sense of his conduct by sending him an extra Garter in an autograph letter. Much to his own surprise she sent for Granville (and for nobody else) and charged him with the formation of a Government. What passed between Her Majesty and him I know not, but he accepted the commission and has been busy about it ever since. How he is to deal with Palmerston and Lord John, and to make such a project palatable to them I cannot imagine. What the Queen has done is a very significant notice to them of her great reluctance to have either of them at the head of affairs, and it cannot but be very mortifying to them to be invited to accept office under a man they have raised from the ranks, and who is young enough to be son to either, and almost to be grandson of the elder of the two. Nor will the mortification be less, after they have both so publicly avowed their expectations that one or other of them must be sent for, and their having, in what they consider a spirit of self-sacrifice, consented to serve under each other, but without ever saying or dreaming that it could be necessary to say they would take office under any third party. Nobody, indeed, has ever thought of the possibility of any but one of

[The Amendment to the Address, implying a want of confidence in Ministers, was moved by the Marquis of Hartington. The votes on the division were : For the amendment 323, against it 310.]

them being called upon by Her Majesty, and the only question has been which it would be.

*June 13th.*—Lord Granville told me yesterday evening what had passed, and that his mission was at an end; and Palmerston engaged in forming a Government. The account of it all appears in the ‘Times’ this morning quite correctly. Granville was rather disappointed, but took it gaily enough, and I think he must have been aware from the first of the extreme difficulty of his forming a Government which was to include these two old rival statesmen. Palmerston had the wisdom to accede at once to Granville’s proposal, probably foreseeing that nothing would come of Granville’s attempt, and that he would have all the credit of his complaisance and obtain the prize after all. The transaction has been a very advantageous one for Granville, and will inevitably lead sooner or later to his gaining the eminence which he has only just missed now, which would have been full of difficulties and future embarrassments at the present time, but will be comparatively easy hereafter. Lord John’s conduct will not serve to ingratiate him with the Queen, nor increase his popularity with the country.<sup>1</sup>

*June 26th.*—All the time that the formation of the new Government was going on I was at a cottage near Windsor for the Ascot races, and consequently I heard nothing of the secret proceedings connected with the selection of those who came in and the exclusion of those who belonged to Palmerston’s last Government, nor have I as yet heard what passed on the subject.<sup>2</sup> The most remarkable of the exclusions is Clarendon’s,

<sup>1</sup> [It was the refusal of Lord John Russell to serve under Lord Granville which rendered the formation of a Cabinet by that statesman impossible. At the same time Lord John Russell expressed his willingness to serve under Lord Palmerston on condition of his taking the department of Foreign Affairs.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lord Palmerston’s Second Administration consisted of the following members :—]

First Lord of the Treasury . . . .	Viscount Palmerston
Lord Chancellor . . . .	Lord Campbell
Lord President . . . .	Earl Granville

who I was sure, when the Foreign Office was seized by John Russell, would take nothing else; and of the admissions, Gladstone's, who has never shown any good will towards Palmerston, and voted with Derby in the last division. This Government in its composition is curiously, and may prove fatally, like that which Aberdeen formed in 1852, of a very Peelite complexion, and only with a larger proportion of Radicals, though not enough, it is said, to satisfy their organs, and Bright is displeased that he has not been more consulted, and probably at office not having been more pressed upon him. It is still very doubtful whether Cobden will accept the place offered to him.

The Tories are full of rancour, and express great confidence that this Government will not last, and that they shall all be recalled to power before the end of the year. Derby had a large gathering at Salisbury's house, when he made them a speech recommending union and moderation, the first of which recommendations they seem more likely to adopt than the second. The affair of his Garter was in this wise. On resigning he wrote to the Queen and besought her to bestow Red Ribands on Malmesbury and Pakington. She wrote him an answer acceding to his request, and adding that she could not allow him to retire a second time from her service without confer-

Lord Privy Seal . . . . .	Duke of Argyll
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . . . .	Mr. Gladstone
Home Secretary . . . . .	Sir George C. Lewis
Foreign Secretary . . . . .	Lord John Russell
Colonial Secretary . . . . .	Duke of Newcastle
War Secretary . . . . .	Mr. Sidney Herbert
Indian Secretary . . . . .	Sir Charles Wood
Duchy of Lancaster . . . . .	Sir George Grey
Postmaster-General . . . . .	Earl of Elgin
Admiralty . . . . .	Duke of Somerset
Board of Trade . . . . .	Mr. Milner Gibson
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland . . . . .	Earl of Carlisle
Irish Secretary . . . . .	Mr. Cardwell

This Administration lasted until the death of Lord Palmerston on October 18, 1865.]

ring upon him a mark of her sense of his services, and she therefore desired him to accept the Garter, though none was vacant. He told me this, and said it was the only way in which he could have taken it, as he never should have given it to himself, and I believe if a vacancy had occurred he meant to have given it to the Duke of Hamilton.

While we have been settling our Government for good or for evil, the war has continued to pursue its course of uninterrupted success of the Allies, and unless something almost miraculous should occur, the Austrian dominion in Italy may be considered as at an end. The sentiments of people here are of a very mixed and almost contradictory character, for they are on the whole anti-Austrian, anti-French, and though more indulgent than they deserve to the Sardinians, not favourable to them. The most earnest and general desire is that we should keep out of the *mélée*, and any termination of the war would be hailed with gladness, because we should thereby be relieved from our apprehensions of being involved in it. We should not be sorry to see the Austrians driven out of Italy for good and all, though most people would regret that the Emperor Louis Napoleon should be triumphant, and that such a course of perfidy, falsehood, and selfish ambition should be crowned with success. The Austrians deserve their fate, for nothing can exceed the folly of their conduct, first in rushing into the war, and thereby playing the whole game of their adversaries, and secondly in placing in command men evidently incapable, and who have committed nothing but blunders since the first day of the campaign.

*June 27th.*—Yesterday I went to Kent House, where I found Clarendon and his sister alone, and we had a long talk, in the course of which he told me all that had passed (especially with regard to himself) about the formation of the Government. Although he spoke very good naturedly about Granville and his abortive attempt, I saw clearly that he thought Granville had been in the wrong to undertake it, and that he ought at once to have told the Queen it was impossible, and have

declined it. Though Palmerston had given a qualified consent to act with him, it was with evident reluctance, and he had guarded it by saying it must be subject to his approbation of the way in which the Government was composed. Lord John's consent was still more qualified, and he annexed to it a condition which at once put an end to the attempt. This was, as I had suspected, that he should be leader of the House of Commons. To this Palmerston refused to agree, and so the whole thing fell to the ground. Granville, by Clarendon's advice, at once reported his failure to the Queen, gave her no advice as to whom she should send for, and of her own accord she sent for Palmerston.

Previously to this, and I think before the vote, Palmerston and Clarendon had discussed the probability of Palmerston's forming a Government, when Palmerston told him he should expect him to return to the Foreign Office. As soon as Palmerston had been with Her Majesty, he went off to Pembroke Lodge, and saw Lord John; told him all that had happened, and that he would of course take any office he pleased. Lord John said, 'I take the Foreign Office.' Palmerston said he had contemplated putting Clarendon there again, enumerating his reasons and Clarendon's claims, but that if he insisted on the Foreign Office as a right, he must have it. Lord John said, 'I do insist on it,' and so it was settled.

I ought to have inserted that when Palmerston and Clarendon talked the matter over at first, Clarendon begged him not to think of him, and that if, as was probable, John Russell desired the Foreign Office, he *must* give it him, for if he did not, or even made any difficulty, an immediate breach would be the consequence, and John Russell would get up a case against Palmerston which would be very embarrassing. Palmerston at first said he should certainly insist on Clarendon's not being put aside to please Lord John, but in the end Clarendon persuaded him not to adhere to that resolution. After all was settled there was a small gathering at Cambridge House, when Palmerston told Clarendon that he might have the

choice of any other office, but Clarendon replied that he was not conversant with Colonial, Indian, or War affairs, and he would not take an office for which there would be many candidates, while he much preferred being out, and Palmerston would not have half offices enough to satisfy the demands for them. Palmerston said he would not take this as his last word, and the next day the Queen sent for Clarendon, by Palmerston's own desire, to try and persuade him to take office. He went to Buckingham Palace and had an audience, or rather interview, of three hours with Her Majesty and the Prince, in which she treated him with the most touching kindness and confidence, and exhausted all her powers of persuasion to induce him to join the Government, but he was firm and would not. She then said, in the event of a vacancy of the Foreign Office, 'You must promise me you will take it,' to which he replied, 'Your Majesty knows I would do anything in the world for your service ; but you must allow me, in any case which may occur, to exercise my own discretion under the circumstances, and to rest assured that I shall in every case be actuated solely by a desire to do what is best for your Majesty, and most conducive to your pleasure and interest.' The Queen talked to Clarendon of the publication in the '*Times*' with much indignation, and said, 'Whom am I to trust ? These were my own very words.' Clarendon, however, endeavoured to convince her that the article had in fact (however indecorous it might appear) been eminently serviceable to her, inasmuch as it negatived any suspicion of intrigue or underhand dealing in any quarter, and represented her own conduct in a manner to excite universal approbation. He dilated on this in a way which made great impression both on the Prince and on her, and ultimately satisfied her that all had been for the best, thereby acting a very good-natured part and a very wise one.

*July 4th.*—Cobden has declined to take office, though he was advised by his friends to accept, and he approves of Milner Gibson and Charles Villiers having joined the Govern-

ment. The reasons he gives are that he has always been a strenuous opponent of Palmerston, and that his conduct will be liable to reproach in taking office under him, that he has been the advocate of economy and low establishments, and would find himself obliged to act very inconsistently, or to oppose his colleagues in a policy respecting which popular opinion would be against him ; but he expresses great satisfaction with Palmerston, who he says is a much better fellow than he was aware of, and he means to give the Government all the support in his power. These reasons do not seem sufficient for his not joining, which he had better have done. Granville laments Clarendon's having declined to take office as a Secretary of State, and that he will not be in the Cabinet to throw into the scale of foreign policy his political weight. I said I knew nothing of his motives, but assuming that he did not see foreign affairs in the same light as Palmerston and John Russell, he would be placed in an awkward position before long. Granville said this might be true, but he thought before very long he would be at the Foreign Office again. What he meant by that I do not know.

*July 12th.*—On Friday morning the world was electrified by reading in the ‘Times’ that an armistice had been agreed upon between the belligerent Emperors in Italy, and the subsequent announcement that they were to have a personal meeting yesterday morning, and the armistice to last for five weeks (till August 15), led to a pretty general conclusion that peace would be the result.<sup>1</sup> The Stock Exchange take the same view, for everywhere and in all securities there has been a great rise. I saw George Lewis on Sunday and asked him if the Government had any intelligence, when he told me that the only thing, besides what had appeared in the papers, was that France had proposed to us to interpose our mediation on the basis of Austria giving up everything, and Prussia had made

<sup>1</sup> [The battle of Solferino was fought on June 24, and an armistice between the Emperors of France and Austria was signed at Villafranca on July 7.]

the same proposal on the basis of Austria giving up nothing, both which proposals we had very naturally declined.

*July 13th.* We had scarcely had time to begin discussing and speculating on the probable results of the armistice before the news of peace being actually concluded burst upon us. As yet we have only the great fact itself and the skeleton of the arrangement, and we shall probably be for some time without materials for judging as to the merits of the Treaty of Peace and its probable consequences, but the first impressions and the first ideas that present themselves may be worth recording. There is no denying that the Emperor Napoleon has played a magnificent part, and whatever we may think of his conduct, and the springs of his actions, he appears before the world as a very great character.<sup>1</sup> Though he can lay no claim to the genius and intellectual powers of the first Napoleon, he is a wiser and a soberer man, with a command over himself and a power of self-restraint, and consequently of moderation in pursuit of objects, which the other did not possess, and therefore while the towering genius of the uncle led him on through magnificent achievements, and stupendous vicissitudes to his ruin, it appears highly probable that the better regulated mind and the habitual prudence of the nephew will preserve him from the commission of similar errors, and render his career

<sup>1</sup> [The conclusion of the peace after the battle of Solferino was creditable to the Emperor Napoleon, but was no indication of a great character. His motives were that he had not the means of undertaking a siege of the great fortresses of the Quadrilateral, and that if the war had been prolonged it was not improbable that the forces of the Germanic Confederation, including Prussia, would have taken the field against France. He therefore acted wisely in terminating the war, and if the Austrians had withdrawn within the Quadrilateral and refused to treat, the Emperor Napoleon might have been placed in great difficulties. As it was, he broke his engagement to Cavour to liberate Italy from the Alps to the sea, and to Kossuth to support a Hungarian insurrection. Italy eventually owed the liberation of Venice, not to France, but to Prussia, as the reward for her combined action with that Power in the war of 1866.

Cf. the account of the manner in which the peace was concluded in Lord Malmesbury's 'Autobiography,' vol. ii. p. 200.]

somewhat less splendid, but more durable and infinitely more beneficial to his country.

With regard to the present affair, the first thing we must be struck with is the way in which the King of Sardinia has been treated. Napoleon, indeed, tosses him a large share of the spoils, but not only was he not admitted to the Conference which led to peace, but he does not appear to have been consulted upon it any more than any of the French generals ; the only notice that was taken of the King (so far as we know) being that he was ordered, upon the conclusion of the armistice, to desist from the siege of Peschiera. I had heard before that the Emperor was extremely disgusted with his ally and Cavour, and at all that the latter had said and done, at the proclamations and other documents he had put forth, and at the audacious manner in which that Government had annexed every scrap of territory they could lay their hands on, and assumed the Government of every State that they could manage to revolutionise, and all without the sanction and concurrence of the Emperor. Nothing is more likely than that the Italian War will not be closed without much bickering and heartburning between the two allies, and that the King and his Cavour will find, in spite of all they are to obtain, that they will have no bed of roses to repose upon after their fatigues and labours.<sup>1</sup>

'Then, so far as we can judge of the settlement, it seems one that is likely to give more offence and disappointment than satisfaction to the bulk of the Italian people, and to imagine that affairs will relapse or resolve themselves into a peaceable and quiescent state is a mere delusion. What passed between the two Emperors we may perhaps never know, though the effects of their interview may one day become dangerously apparent ; but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that Napoleon exerted all his arts and blandishments to make a friend of Francis

<sup>1</sup> [M. de Cavour bitterly resented the prompt conclusion of peace, and for a time quitted the Ministry of which he was the head.]

Joseph, and to persuade him that a cordial alliance with France would be more advantageous to him than one with England, and he might with every appearance and much of the reality of truth tell him that England had done nothing for him ; that neither the Government nor the nation had any sympathies with Austria, whom, so far from assisting, they had gladly seen defeated in Italy ; and that the forbearance of the Emperor in leaving Austria in possession of any part of Italy would be unpalatable to Palmerston and John Russell, and generally unpopular. One cannot but suspect that an alliance was at least projected, if not formed, between the three great despotic Powers, France, Austria, and Russia, for the purpose of domineering over Europe, and dealing with the several States according to their pleasure, or the pleasure of France, and with the ultimate object of attacking, weakening, and humbling England.

Of all the provisions of this Treaty that which regards the sovereignty of the Pope is the most curious and seems the most difficult to carry out ; it is indicative of the necessity under which the Emperor thinks he is placed of disarming the hostility and consulting the prejudices of the Catholic party and the Church in France. Whether the Pope will accept the temporal office assigned to him may be doubted, but it can hardly be doubted that his supremacy will not be willingly accepted and acknowledged by the Italians generally, to whom the Papal rule is already odious.<sup>1</sup> One cannot but feel glad at the deep mortification and disappointment which will overtake the Republicans and Socialists, the Mazzinis, Garibaldis, Kossuths, *et hoc genus omne*, at a pacification so ruinous to all their hopes and designs. Clarendon told me he believed the account in the 'Times' of the compact between the Emperor and Kossuth, and nothing is more likely than that at the beginning of the contest he employed Kossuth in the way stated, and gave him all sorts of promises,

<sup>1</sup> [It was proposed by the Sovereigns to place the Pope at the head of an Italian Confederation—a wild scheme, which entirely failed.]

and when he found he could do everything *sine tali auxilio*, and that he had a stronger interest in making friends with Austria, he threw Kossuth over without scruple or hesitation. This is exactly the course he would be likely to follow.<sup>1</sup>

*July 15th.*—The news of the peace took everybody so much by surprise, that people had no time to arrange their thoughts upon it ; but in the midst of the general satisfaction that the war is over, it is already apparent that there is an explosion of disappointment and resentment to come. All the Italian sympathisers here are in despair, Palmerston is much dissatisfied, and the anti-Austrian Press is indignant. The King of Sardinia has not openly testified any ill-humour, and has published an Address to his new Lombard subjects in a joyful style, but it is impossible he should not deeply feel and resent the contemptuous way in which he has been treated by his Imperial ally, and the resignation of Cavour is a clear manifestation of *his* feelings on the subject.

When it was announced that an interview was to take place between the two Emperors, everybody predicted that the elder of the two would have as much success in diplomacy over his rival as he had already obtained in arms, but the result does not appear to bear out that expectation, though we do not yet know what the real motives of the Emperor Napoleon were in concluding such an extraordinary peace. Granville told me that at this interview the Austrian Emperor had taken a very high line, and shown little disposition to concession. He said to Napoleon, ‘ You have conquered Lombardy, and I do not contemplate making any attempt to recover it. I am therefore quite ready to cede it to *you*, and *you* will deal with it as you please. I have nothing to say to the King of Sardinia, and make no concessions to him. With regard to Venetia, and the country of which I remain in possession, I have nothing to concede or to offer, *all that* I mean to retain, but I have no

<sup>1</sup> [This was so. The details of Kossuth's negotiations with the Emperor have been published by Kossuth himself in his Memoirs.]

objection to my Venetian dominions forming part of the Italian Confederation.' They appear to have had a vast deal of conversation and discussion, for they are said to have been together for above twelve hours. What they talked about it would be interesting to know, but which they will neither of them tell us. The field for speculation is as wide as can well be. How the settlement of Italy is to be accomplished, how the Italians are to be contented, and how peace in that country is to be permanently secured, are questions enough to puzzle the acutest politicians.

We congratulate ourselves at having kept entirely clear both of the war and the peace, but no doubt Palmerston is mortified, and I think England generally will be provoked that changes of such importance should have been made without any consultation or even communication with us.

The friends of the Emperor Napoleon say that they believe his motive for making peace on any terms he could get to have been principally that he was so shocked and disgusted at the fearful scenes of pain and misery that he had to behold after the battle of Solferino in addition to the other battle-fields, and at the spectacle of thousands of killed and wounded presented to his eyes, that his nerves could not bear it. Lady Cowley told me that he was so tenderhearted that he could not bear the sight of pain, much less being the cause of inflicting it, and she had seen him quite upset after visited hospitals at the sufferings he had witnessed there, which of course are not to be compared with the horrible scene of a battle-field. It is impossible to say that this may not be true wholly or in part, it is impossible to account for human idiosyncrasies ; but it is quite certain that the man who is said to shrink with horror from the sight of suffering does not scruple to inflict it in quite as bad a form when he does not himself witness the infliction. He has hundreds and thousands of people torn from their families, and without form of trial or the commission of any crime sends them to linger or perish in pestilential climates, when he fancies it his interest to do so, and for their sufferings he evinces no pity or any nervous sensations.

*August 7th.*—I have found it impossible to collect anything to record in this book for the last month almost. The session is drawing to a close, having glided on without difficulty for the Government, and almost without opposition. The Election Committees have made great havoc in Palmerston's small majority, having unseated no less than seven Liberal members. I am told, perhaps on no good authority, that Palmerston, John Russell, and Gladstone are anxious to join in a Congress to mix themselves up in the settlement of Italian affairs, but that they cannot have their way, the majority of the Cabinet being opposed to it, and the House of Commons and the country (as represented by the Press) being decidedly against any such interference.<sup>1</sup>

I met Edmond Mildmay the other day, who gave me some account of his own personal experiences during the last Italian campaign, when he was attached to the Austrian Army. He confirmed all previous accounts of the excellence of that army and the incompetency of its chiefs; that nothing could have saved the French Army at Magenta if the Austrians had been tolerably commanded; that Giulai, who had never seen any service, had been allowed to retain the command by the influence of General Grunne, whose friend he is, and that the indignation and disgust of the army at having been thus sacrificed to Court favour and partiality had been extreme. He told me that at Solferino the Austrian loss was (within a fraction of) 20,000, the French 19,000, and the Sardinians 9,000 men; Benedek is the ablest of the Austrian generals, and if he had had the command probably affairs would have taken a very different turn. Mildmay has no doubt that peace

<sup>1</sup> [I think it was at this time that Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell proposed to the Cabinet that England should enter into a Treaty of Alliance with France and Sardinia, but the proposal was negatived by their colleagues. The feelings of these Ministers, however, speedily changed when the cession of Savoy and Nice, and the manner in which it was brought about, were known, and their language became so hostile that it gave great offence to the Emperor Napoleon. See Lord Malmesbury, 'Autobiography,' vol. ii. p. 225.]

was much more necessary to the French than to the Austrians, and he still believes that if the war had continued the tide of victory would have been rolled back, as the latter had 90,000 fresh troops coming into line. It is probably better as it is than if the Austrians had recovered all their losses; the Emperor Napoleon seems likely to be satisfied with his military exploits, and to be really intending to revert to his peaceful policy. He is certainly doing all he can to persuade the world that such is his intention, and there seems a disposition here to take him at his word.

*Viceroyal Lodge, Phoenix Park, August 22nd.*—I have at last accomplished the object I have desired for so many years, and find myself in Ireland. I have seized the first opportunity of being my own master to come here. I left London the week before last, and went to Nun Appleton, thence to Grimstone, and on Saturday I came here, railing through York and Manchester to Holyhead; crossed over on a beautiful evening, with sea as smooth as glass, but it was too dark to see the Bay of Dublin. Most hospitably received by Lord Carlisle, and very comfortably lodged. Passed the day in Dublin yesterday; twice at church, in the morning at Christ Church, afternoon St. Patrick's, attracted by the celebrity of the choir and the performance of the cathedral service, which was finely done, though the best voices (three brothers Robinson) were absent. I am greatly struck by the fineness of the town of Dublin, and of the public buildings especially.

*Dublin, August 23rd.*—On Monday morning the Lord-Lieutenant went to pay his first visit since his return to the National School, and took me with him. I was much gratified at the sight, and with the appearance of the children and their intelligence. There was a grand gathering of Commissioners and others to meet Carlisle, but no Catholics except Lord Bellew and Dean —, who alone of all the Catholic ecclesiastics has had courage and resolution to adhere to the system. Not one Catholic Bishop now remains on the board. Bishop Denver was the last to resign, which it is believed he did

reluctantly, but it seems that the rule of their Synod is, that when a majority has decided, those who are in the minority give in their adhesions, and produce unanimity. The National System is apparently in the crisis of its fate, and a desperate struggle is being made by the Popish clergy to destroy it, while the ultra-Protestants will join them (for different reasons and with different objects) for the same end. I earnestly hope these factions will fail. The most encouraging circumstance is found in the return which was given me of the 'Central Model Schools,' in which the number of pupils seeking admission is 1,179, an evident proof of the popularity of the system, and that up to this time the priests have not been able to deter their flocks from giving their children its benefits. This return is sufficiently interesting to be copied into this journal :—

		Males	Females	Infants
Number of pupils on roll . . . .		564	447	375
Pupils in attendance . . . .		436	348	311
Seeking admission . . . .		203	866	110

Carlisle was received with great enthusiasm by both pupils and teachers. After this we went to the Hill of Killinie, whence there is a grand panoramic view of the Bay of Dublin and the surrounding country, and then to my old friend Lady Campbell<sup>1</sup> (Pamela Fitz-Gerald), whose beautiful daughters are as well worth seeing as anything in Ireland.

*Dublin, August 24th.*—Yesterday in the morning a review in the Phoenix Park, after which Bagot took me to Howth Castle, which I was curious to see, but it is not very remarkable, though very ancient. It has a modernised appearance, and is a comfortable house, said to be the oldest *inhabited* house in Ireland, and one of the towers of fabulous antiquity. I remarked that the hall door was left open, according to the traditional obligation. One of the Ladies St. Lawrence told me the story as follows: An old woman, 'the Granawhile,'

<sup>1</sup> [Lady Campbell was the daughter of Pamela and Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald.]

came to the castle and asked for hospitality or alms, and was refused and driven away. She was the wife of a pirate. On the seaside she found the young heir with his nurse, whom she seized and carried off. Afterwards she brought the boy back, and consented to restore him on condition that henceforward no beggar should be refused admittance, that the hall door should be kept continually open, and that at dinner a place should be kept and a plate laid for any stranger who might appear. The beggars are kept away by not being admitted through the lodge gates; the hall door is open, but there is another door behind it, and the vacant place has by degrees fallen into disuse. I know not how old the story is, but there is enough to show that it had a foundation of some sort, and that it remains a relic in the customs of the family. On returning to Dublin I went to see Trinity College, and the beautiful museum erected a few years ago. Dublin is, for its size, a finer town than London, and I think they beat us hollow in their public buildings. We have no such squares as Merrion Square, nor such a street as Sackville Street.

*Bessborough, August 26th.*—I came here on Wednesday *vid* Kilkenny. A very nice place, comfortable, and in as good order as any place in England. People apparently well off, and cottages clean and not uncomfortable.

*August 28th.*—Went yesterday to Waterford; pretty good town, but looking very foreign. They showed me a hill, to which it is said Cromwell advanced, but found the town too strong to be attacked; hence Waterford has been called the *Urbs invicta*. I doubt the story, for he would have stormed Waterford easily enough if he had chosen. Saw the National School; a very good establishment, boys absent on holidays, but a very civil intelligent master, a Roman Catholic. The clergy of neither persuasion will come near the school, except the Dean of Waterford, who still supports it. Went on to Curraghmore, a vast and magnificent park, but a mean house.

*August 31st.*—Went on Tuesday to Woodstock; very pretty place, and in admirable trim. Weather changing, and I fear I shall see Killarney in rain and cold.

*Viceregal Lodge, September 6th.*—Went to Muckross on Thursday last; passed three days there in exquisite enjoyment of the beautiful scenery of Killarney; weather was perfect, and I went over and round all the lakes; returned here on Monday, and went yesterday to the Curragh.

*Jervaulx Abbey, Sunday, September 11th.*—Crossed over from Kingstown to Holyhead on Thursday last; beautiful passage. Passed the last day, Wednesday, in Dublin with William Fitzgerald seeing the town. He took me over the old Leinster House, now the Royal Institution, and then to the Bank to see the old House of Lords; a fine room, exactly as it was, and what was the House of Commons, now completely altered and not retaining a vestige of the famous locality where Flood and Grattan and Plunket once shook the walls with their eloquence. I left Ireland with regret, for I spent several very happy days there, interested and amused even more than I expected, and treated with great kindness and hospitality. Went from Holyhead to Manchester, and on to Worsley to sleep; came here on Friday. The old Abbey is very picturesque, and very perfect as a ruin. It reminds me, place and all, of Bolton Abbey.

*London, September 26th.*—I stayed three days at Jervaulx, then to Doncaster, Bretby, and to town. All the Ministers in London, having passed their lives during the last fortnight in the railway or in Cabinets, which have been very numerous, as well they may, for they have plenty to occupy them in the Italian, Chinese, and American questions, all, in their several ways and degrees, extremely embarrassing. I have not the slightest conception what our Government are doing about the Italian question, but I suppose trying to keep well with Napoleon III., and to obtain good terms for the Italian Duchies. At present it looks as if a Congress would be got together to untie this complicated knot, but I fear we are not likely to play in it a part which will be consistent with our principles, or creditable to our national character, and I wish we could abstain from having anything to do with it. The

incident about the American Boundary is awkward, but I feel confident it will be amicably settled.

The Chinese affair is the most serious, and one can see no solution of it that is not full of objections and embarrassments.<sup>1</sup> In the first place it looks at present very much as if our case was a bad one. We had no business to go with an armament and force our way up the river, and even if we were upon any ground justified in such an extreme measure, it was to the last degree impolitic and unwise to exercise such a right. The object for which Bruce was sent to China was to conclude a peace, and to establish amicable relations with the Chinese Government, and it might have occurred to him that the employment of force, even if it was ever so successful, must infallibly defeat his object. It required no great sagacity to perceive that the arrival at Pekin of a victorious Ambassador, who had forced his way to the capital at the head of an imposing force, would not serve to make his reception a friendly one, or to establish permanent harmonious relations between the English and the Chinese Governments. As long as there was a possibility of procuring access to Pekin by peaceful means and by negotiation, it would have been better to be patient and to wait any time than to employ force; and besides the political objections that seem conclusive against the adoption of such a course, it seems highly probable that no such force as that which we employed on this occasion could have been pushed on into the heart of the country without imminent danger of its being cut off and eventually destroyed. The mere fact of destroying again the Peiho forts would be deemed by the Chinese as the renewal of the war, and the perpetrator of the outrage would not have been received in the sacred character of an

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Bruce having been detained in his mission to Pekin, which was of a pacific character, Admiral Hope made an attempt to force the passage by reducing the forts at the mouth of the Peiho. The attack failed with a loss of nearly 400 men killed and wounded in the storming party and the gunboats. The 'Plover' and 'Lee' gunboats grounded, and the 'Coromorant' was so damaged by the enemy's fire that she sank soon afterwards. The whole proceeding was injudicious and disastrous.]

Ambassador, but would have been looked on as an invader, and treated accordingly. This is the first view of the question, which presents itself. Then comes that of vindicating our honour, and retrieving the disaster we have suffered, which involves the necessity of rushing into war again and scattering havoc and desolation through the country, massacring thousands of people who can make no effectual resistance to our power, and making territorial conquests, which will only embarrass us, and which we shall have more difficulty in getting rid of than we shall have in making their acquisition. In short, we are going to be engaged in a contest in which failure will be disgraceful, and success will be inconvenient, and to place additional obstacles in the way of that good understanding which it is so much our interest to establish with China. Nor are our difficulties diminished by the fact of being connected with, and therefore more or less dependent on the French, and in a less degree with the Russians and the Americans in this unfortunate contest. This local and accidental alliance impairs our freedom of action, and of necessity introduces delays and complications of all sorts into the affair.

*October 19th.*—Nearly a month and nothing to record, besides the events of the day, of which I know nothing more than the newspapers report. I only take up my pen now because Clarendon called on me, and it is worth while to recollect the little he told me during a very short visit. I had not seen him since his visit to Osborne in the summer, and he began by giving me an account of it. The Queen was delighted to have him with her again and to have a good long confidential talk with him, for it seems she finds less satisfaction in her intercourse with either Palmerston or Lord John. The relations of these two are now most intimate and complete, and Palmerston has obtained an entire influence and authority over Lord John, who only sees with his eyes and without any contest submits to be entirely guided and controlled by Palmerston. The *jeu* of the thing is rather amusing. Palmerston, who is thoroughly versed in foreign affairs (while

Lord John knows very little about them) in every important case suggests to Lord John what to do. Lord John brings it before the Cabinet as his own idea, and then Palmerston supports him, as if the case was new to him.

But to return to the Queen and Clarendon. He was unfortunately attacked by gout and confined to his room. He was sitting there with Lady Clarendon, when Lady Gainsborough came in and told him that she was desired by the Queen to beg he would if possible move into the next room (the Lady-in-waiting's room) and establish himself there; that the Queen would come in, when all the ladies present were to go away and leave her *tête-à-tête* with him. All this was done, and she remained there an hour and a half, talking over everything, pouring all her confidences into his ears, and asking for his advice about everything. He said he had endeavoured to do as much good as he could by smoothing down her irritation about things she did not like. As an example, he mentioned that while the Prince was with him a box was brought in with a despatch from Lord John, which the Prince was to read. He did so with strong marks of displeasure, and then read it to Clarendon, saying they could not approve it, and must return it to Lord John. Clarendon begged him not to do this, that it was not the way to deal with him, and it would be better to see what it contained that really was good and proper, and to suggest emendations as to the rest. He persuaded the Prince to do this, advised him what to say, and in the end Lord John adopted all the suggestions they had made to him. On another occasion the Queen had received a very touching letter from the Duchess of Parma imploring her protection and good offices, which she sent to Lord John, desiring he would write an answer for her to make to it. He sent a very short, cold answer, which the Queen would not send. She asked Clarendon to write a suitable one for her, which he did, but insisted that she should send it to Lord John.

as her own. She did so, Lord John approved, and so this matter was settled.

*Newmarket, October 21st.*—Clarendon told me, and has since written to me, that Government regard in a very serious light the approaching war between Spain and Morocco, which they think will have the effect of putting Gibraltar in peril;<sup>1</sup> that Spain is playing the part of cat's-paw to France, who wants to get possession of Morocco, giving Tangier to Spain, which would give her, and France through her, the command of both sides the Straits, and as we depend upon Tangier for supplies to Gibraltar, it would be difficult for us to hold the place when this scheme is accomplished. He writes to-day: 'No news to-day except that things look very fishy with Spain and Morocco, and I suspect we are going to be vigorous, which, though it may be expedient, may also be productive of much trouble.'

He was lately at Broadlands, and had much talk with Palmerston, who was very friendly and confidential, told him everything, and appeared very anxious to have his opinions and advice. He says, that Palmerston's hatred of Austria amounted to a monomania, and this of course produces a divergence between the present policy of France and ours. He talked about America. When Clarendon was lately at Clumber he discussed that affair with the Duke of Newcastle and offered to write to Buchanan, with whom it seems he is in correspondence, and say to him what it is desirable should be said, unofficially; and he suggested that he should hold out to Buchanan the prospect of a visit from the Prince of Wales, who it seems is going to Canada some time or other. This the Duke mentioned at the Cabinet, where the proposal

<sup>1</sup> [On October 22, Spain declared war on Morocco, on the ground that further territory was required for the protection of her settlements on the North African coast. Tetuan was captured by the Spaniards on February 4, 1860, and peace was signed on April 27, the Emperor of Morocco paying an indemnity of twenty million piastres. Marshal O'Donnell, who had commanded the expedition, was created Duke of Tetuan.]

was highly approved, but when it was broached to the Queen, Her Majesty objected to anything being said about the Prince of Wales going to the United States, so it fell to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

*London, October 30th.*—Clarendon came to town yesterday morning on his way to Windsor and called here. He told me that we were going to send a representative to the Congress, and I was not a little surprised to perceive that he would not be at all disinclined to go there himself. He did not indeed say so, but unless I am greatly deceived this is in his mind, though not without feeling the difficulty of his acting with John Russell. Clarendon says that the preparations going on in France are on the most enormous scale, and can have no object but one hostile to this country, and that the feeling against England is fomented by the Government and extending all over France. He is persuaded that the fixed purpose of Louis Napoleon is to humble this country, and deprive her of the great influence and authority she has hitherto exercised over the affairs of Europe. He is bent upon getting us to take part in the Congress, and that in order to persuade us he will pretend to be entirely agreed with us in opinion, and only wishing to concert the most proper means of carrying out our common objects, and when he has thus cajoled us into a participation he will throw us over, and place us under the necessity of agreeing to what we disapprove, or of putting ourselves *en désaccord* with all Europe. He told me that John Russell is supposed on the Continent to be the implacable enemy of the Catholic religion, and this will be a great disqualification for his acting at a Congress mainly composed of Catholic Powers; that this opinion, which is ripe in Ireland, is propagated all over the world, and that the recollections of

<sup>1</sup> [Whatever may have been the objection to the mention of the Prince of Wales's visit to the United States at this moment, the project did not fall to the ground, for on July 9 in the following year (1860) the Prince started on a visit to Canada and the United States, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, where he was entertained by President Buchanan on October 25.]

the Durham Letter and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill are still as strong as ever.<sup>1</sup>

*November 18th.*—Last week at the Grove to meet the Duc d'Aumale, who is one of the most enlightened and agreeable Princes I ever met, very simple and natural, and full of information and knowledge of all sorts.

I do not remember to have gathered anything particularly interesting from Clarendon in our various conversations, except that in the event of our consenting to join the Congress he would not be unwilling to go to it, and that he thinks he might be able to effect an arrangement. This confidence has in great measure been produced by a letter from Cowley which he showed me, containing an account of his visit to Biarritz and his communications with the Emperor. He said he had resolved not to say a word to His Majesty of Italian affairs, thinking the Emperor would abstain from talking of them to him, but as soon as they met he began to talk, and went at length into the whole subject. The upshot was that he found the Emperor in such a state of perplexity and embarrassment, and so fully conscious of the scrape into which he had got himself, that he did not know what to do or which way to turn; his object evidently is to get us to help him out of his difficulty, and Clarendon thinks that he should be able to draw him into such measures as we could support if the matter was well managed.

A day or two ago the Duke of Bedford, whom I have not seen or communicated with for a long time, called on me. He told me one curious anecdote, which he had heard from his brother. Persigny called on Lord John one day, and told

<sup>1</sup> [The Congress which it was proposed to hold had reference to the affairs of Italy, which were extremely perplexing to the Emperor Napoleon himself. But Lord Clarendon's apprehensions were certainly unfounded, for it deserves to be remarked that about this time negotiations were opened between the Emperor and Mr. Cobden for a commercial treaty, which was intended to strengthen, and did strengthen, the amicable and pacific relations of France and England.]

him he was come in strict confidence to show him the letter which the Emperor had written to the King of Sardinia, ~~but~~ which he must not mention even to his own colleagues, except of course to Palmerston. Lord John promised he would not, and a day or two after he read the letter in the 'Times.' He sent for Persigny and asked for an explanation. Persigny said he could not explain it, but would write to Walewski. John Russell also wrote to Cowley, who spoke to Walewski about it. Walewski declared he could not account for it, and that it must have been sent from Turin, and he would write to that Court to complain of the indiscretion and would also speak to the Emperor. He went to the Emperor, told him what had passed, and showed him what he proposed to write to Turin, when the Emperor said: 'No, don't write at all, take no notice of the publication. The fact is, I sent the letter myself to the "Times" Correspondent.' It was Mocquard who took it to him. A most extraordinary proceeding, and showing the extreme difficulty of all diplomatic dealing between the two Governments. The Emperor is by way of being indignant with the 'Times,' and never fails to pour forth complaints and abuse of the paper to whomever he converses with. He did so, for instance, to Cobden, to whom he gave an audience at Paris. But who can tell whether this is not a pretence and a deceit, and whether he may not all the time have a secret understanding with the 'Times'? Such a supposition would seem to be inconsistent with their articles and his conduct, and the comments of the former upon the latter; but how difficult it is to form any certain judgement upon a policy so tortuous as his, and upon designs so close and councils so crooked!

## CHAPTER XIX.

Prospects of the Government and of the Opposition—Mr. Disraeli's commanding Position—Preparation of a Reform Bill—A Congress—Death of Macaulay—The Affairs of Italy—Policy of the Emperor Napoleon—The Commercial Treaty with France—M. de Cavour resumes Office—Opening of Parliament—Negotiation of the Commercial Treaty—The Emperor a Free Trader—Perplexity of Italian Affairs—Moderation of Lord Derby—Opposition to the Commercial Treaty—The Reform Bill of 1860—Tory Opposition to Reform—Mr. Gladstone's great Budget Speech—Opposition to the Treaty and the Budget—Triumph of Mr. Gladstone—The Italian Correspondence—Democratic Opinions of Mr. Gladstone—Introduction of the Reform Bill—The Annexation of Savoy and Nice—Annexation of Tuscany to Piedmont—The *Dénouement* of the Plot—Complete Apathy of the Country as to Reform—Lord Derby declines to interfere—Lord John's adverse Declaration to France—Consequences of Lord John's Speech against France—Our Position in Europe—Anecdote of the Crimean War—Designs of the Emperor Napoleon in 1858—Lord Palmerston's Distrust of Napoleon III.—Lord John's Indifference to his own Reform Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Ascendency—Designs of the Emperor and Cavour—Unpopularity of the Reform Bill—Correspondence of Lord Grey and Lord John Russell—Reaction against Mr. Gladstone's Measures—Opposition to the Repeal of the Paper Duties—Coolness with France—Garibaldi's Expedition—Lord Palmerston attacks the Neapolitan Minister—The Paper Duties Bill rejected by the Lords—The Reform Bill withdrawn—Lord Palmerston adjusts the Difference between the two Houses—Mr. Gladstone supported by the Radicals—Mr. Senior's Conversations in Paris—A Letter from the Speaker—Mr. Cobden's Faith in the Emperor Napoleon—Conclusion of these Journals.

*London, December 25th, 1859.*—The Government are getting ready for the session which is near at hand, Palmerston with his usual confidence, but Granville, who is not naturally desponding, and who I dare say represents the feeling of his

colleagues, is conscious of the want of that strength and security which a commanding majority alone can give, and, without thinking the danger great or imminent, anticipates the possibility of their being defeated on some vital question. The Opposition, conscious of their numerical force, but anything but united, profess the most moderate views and intentions. Derby professed at Liverpool to have no wish to turn out the Government or to come into office himself. Disraeli himself told me that he and all his party desired the Reform question to be settled quietly, and that if the Government ~~only~~ offered them such a Bill as they could possibly accept, they should be ready to give them every assistance in carrying it through. Since this, Walpole has made a formal communication to Granville (through Henry Lennox) of his and Henley's disposition to the above-mentioned end. We are told, moreover, that a great number of the Conservative party will not only support a fair and moderate Reform Bill, but support the Government generally, not so much, however, from wishing well to the Government as from their antipathy to Disraeli and their reluctance to see *him* in power again. That they will join in carrying through a safe and moderate Reform Bill is no doubt true, but it is not probable that the division amongst them and the hostility to Disraeli will last long, or continue a moment after the appearance of any prospect of the return of the Conservative party to power.

Disraeli raised himself immensely last year, more, perhaps, with his opponents and the House of Commons generally than with his own party, but it is universally acknowledged that he led the House with a tact, judgement, and ability of which he was not before thought capable. While he has thus risen, no rival has sprung up to dispute his pre-eminence. Walpole and Henley are null, and it is evident that the party cannot do without Disraeli, and whenever Parliament meets he will find means of reconciling them to a necessity of which none of them can be unconscious, and I have no doubt that whenever any good opportunities for showing fight may

occur the whole party will be found united under Disraeli's orders.

With regard to the Reform Bill, it is being proposed by a large committee of the Cabinet, but George Lewis has the chief management of it. The state of public opinion admits, indeed compels, the utmost moderation, but hitherto the anticipated difficulty has been the sort of pledge which John Russell foolishly gave last year with reference to the franchise, to which it has been supposed he must consider himself bound. But there is reason to believe that he is not taking any active part in the concoction of this Bill, probably on account of his being so absorbed in foreign affairs, and under these circumstances we may not unreasonably expect that a fair Bill will be produced, and the question eventually settled.

The question of still greater and more pressing interest is that of the Congress. The nomination of Hudson met with such opposition in the Cabinet that it was not pressed, and Lord Wodehouse was named instead. He is a clever man, well informed, speaks French fluently, and has plenty of courage and *aplomb*; his opinions are liberal, but not extravagant. Clarendon, who had him down at the Grove, was pleased and satisfied with him. Granville is much *contrarié* that Clarendon himself has not been asked to go, thinking justly that he would have much more weight than any other man, and would be far more likely to conduct our affairs in the Congress with credit and success; but Clarendon now tells me he certainly would not have gone if it had been proposed to him. My own conviction *was* that he would have accepted a proposal, and though for many reasons he would not have liked such a mission, I think he is somewhat mortified that it was not offered to him.

The recent appearance of the pamphlet of 'Le Pape et le Congrès,'<sup>1</sup> which has produced such a sensation and so much

<sup>1</sup> [The object of the Congress proposed by the Emperor Napoleon was to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which he was placed by the terms of the Peace of Villafranca with reference to the affairs of Italy. The proposal to establish a Confederation of the Italian States was found

astonishment, has no doubt been a great thing for us, and rendered our diplomatic course much more easy and promising. Clarendon writes to me: 'This last pamphlet of the Emperor's is important and I am sure authentic, as it is simply a developement of what I have heard twenty times from his own lips. It ought of course to have been reserved for the Congress, but as far as we are concerned it is well timed.' It was a bold, but a clever stroke of policy to give notice to the whole world of the sentiments and intentions with which the Emperor enters the Congress, and it renders a good understanding and joint action between France and England feasible and perhaps easy, unless Palmerston spoils everything by some obstinate and extravagant pretensions which he may insist on his plenipotentiaries bringing forward. But if he should be so ill advised, I believe that he would meet with an insuperable resistance in his own Cabinet and at Court, and that Cowley certainly, perhaps Wodehouse also, would decline being made the instruments of such a vicious and mischievous policy.

*January 2nd, 1860.*—The death of Macaulay is the extinction of a great light, and although every expectation of the completion of his great work had long ago vanished, the sudden close of his career, and the certainty that we shall have no more of his History, or at most only the remaining portion of King William's reign (which it is understood he had nearly prepared for publication), is a serious disappointment to the world. His health was so broken that his death can hardly create any surprise, but there had been no reason lately to apprehend that the end was so near. I have mentioned the circumstance of my first meeting him, after which

to be impracticable, and the unification of Italy was a more difficult problem than the conquest and cession to Piedmont of the Milanese territory. M. de Cavour was the only statesman who contemplated the entire realisation of this vast scheme, which was at last accomplished by revolutionary means, without the concurrence of France. His views were shared and supported by Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Gladstone.]

we became rather intimate in a general way, and he used frequently to invite me to those breakfasts in the Albany at which he used to collect small miscellaneous parties, generally including some remarkable people, and at which he loved to pour forth all those stores of his mind and accumulations of his memory to which his humbler guests, like myself, used to listen with delighted admiration, and enjoy as the choicest of intellectual feasts. I don't think he was ever so entirely agreeable as at his own breakfast table; though I shall remember as long as I live the pleasant days I have spent in his society at Bowood, Holland House, and elsewhere. Nothing was more remarkable in Macaulay than the natural way in which he talked, never for the sake of display or to manifest his superior powers and knowledge. On the contrary, he was free from any assumption of superiority over others, and seemed to be impressed with the notion that those he conversed with knew as much as himself, and he was always quite as ready to listen as to talk. 'Don't you remember?' he was in the habit of saying when he quoted some book or alluded to some fact to listeners who could not remember, because in nineteen cases out of twenty they had never known or heard of whatever it was he alluded to. I do not believe anybody ever left his society with any feeling of mortification, except that which an involuntary comparison between his knowledge and their own ignorance could not fail to engender. For some years past I had seen little or nothing of Macaulay. His own health compelled him to abstain in great measure from going into the world. He bought a house at Campden Hill, from which he rarely stirred, and to which he never invited me, nor did I ever call upon him there. I have often regretted the total cessation of our intercourse, but what else could be expected from the difference of our habits, pursuits, and characters? I have only recently read over again the whole of his 'History of England' with undiminished pleasure and admiration, though with a confirmed opinion that his style is not the very best, and that he is not the writer whom I should be most desirous

to imitate ; but what appears to me most admirable and most worthy of imitation in Macaulay is the sound moral constitution of his mind, and his fearless independence of thought, never sacrificing truth to any prejudice, interest or preconceived opinion whatever. Above all he was no hero worshipper, who felt it incumbent on him to minister to vulgar prejudices or predilections, to exalt the merits and palliate the defects of great reputations, and to consider the commission of great crimes, or the detection of mean and base motives, as atoned for and neutralised by the possession of shining abilities and the performance of great actions. Macaulay excited much indignation in some quarters by the severity with which he criticised the conduct and character of the Duke of Marlborough, and the Quakers bitterly resented his attacks upon Penn. He was seldom disposed to admit that he had been mistaken or misinformed, and I thought he was to blame in clinging so tenaciously to his severe estimate of Penn's conduct after the vindication of it which was brought forward, and the production of evidence in Penn's favour, which might have satisfied him that he had been in error, and which probably would have done so in any case in which his judgement had been really unbiased. I always regretted, not for the sake of Penn's memory, but for the honour of Macaulay himself, that he would not admit the value and force of the exculpatory evidence and acknowledge, as he very gracefully might, the probability at least of his having been in error. But the case of the Duke of Marlborough is very different, and reflects the highest honour on his literary integrity and independence. Undazzled by the splendour of that great man's career and the halo of admiration which had long surrounded his name, he demonstrated to the whole world of what base clay the idol was made, and how he had abused for unworthy ends the choice gifts which Nature had bestowed upon him. Macaulay no doubt held that in proportion to the excellence of his natural endowments was his moral responsibility for the use or abuse of them, and he would not allow Blenheim and Ramillies

to be taken as a set-off against his hypocrisy, perfidy, and treason. Macaulay's History is the best ethical study for forming the mind and character of a young man, for it is replete with maxims of the highest practical value. It holds up in every page to hatred and scorn all the vices which can stain, and to admiration and emulation all the virtues which can adorn, a public career. It is impossible for anyone to study that great work without sentiments of profound admiration for the lessons it inculcates, and they who become thoroughly imbued with its spirit, no matter whether they coincide or not with his opinions, will be strengthened in a profound veneration for truth and justice, for public and private integrity and honour, and in a genuine patriotism and desire for the freedom, prosperity, and glory of their country.

*January 7th.*—In a letter from Clarendon yesterday from The Grove he says : ‘Cowley came over here last night. I had a long talk with him ; he is low and unhappy, and does not see his way out of the labyrinth ; he is not for the Congress meeting *now*, but still does not think we should abandon the Emperor altogether in his Italian policy. The fact is, we are in a great difficulty. If we had from the first taken the wise part of saying that as we had had nothing to do with the war or the peace, and should therefore not interfere with the arrangements the Emperor thought proper to make, we should now be on velvet ; but from the moment we knew of the Villafranca arrangement we have been thwarting the Emperor, and goading him on further than he wished to go, and encouraging the Italians to persist in their own ideas, till at last when he does what we want, and is prepared to throw over the Pope and asks to be backed by us, it is rather awkward to break away and declare we only wanted the credit of recommending a fine liberal policy, but that we don't mean to be at any trouble or expense about it.’ All this is undoubtedly true, but it is the old inveterate habit of Palmerston's policy, united with John Russell's crotchets, which has brought it to this pass. Palmerston has always been Conservative at home and Revolutionary

abroad, and the gratification of a silly spite against Austria has always been paramount to any other consideration and object. While the enemies of the late Government accused them, very unjustly as the documentary evidence has shown, of having unduly favoured Austria during the recent conflict, and therefore having been neutral only in name, it is true that the present Government, *i.e.* Palmerston and John Russell, have gone out of their way to interfere in an underhand manner, and have been constantly patting on the back the insurgent Italians and, as Clarendon says, urging the Emperor to go further than he wishes, or than he can do consistently with the engagement he has entered into. When Cowley was here some months ago, I remember his telling me that one day when he met Cavour, either at Compiègne or Paris, I forget which, when it was the question of the Congress before the war, Cavour said to him, ‘So you are going to have a Congress.’ ‘Yes,’ said Cowley, ‘thanks to you and all you have been doing in Italy.’ ‘Thanks to me!’ cried Cavour, ‘I like that; why don’t you say thanks to your own Minister at Turin, to Sir James Hudson, who has done ten times more than ever I did?’

*Hatchford, January 12th.*—Clarendon writes to me (on the 10th): ‘Cowley dined here on Saturday and did the same at Pembroke Lodge on Sunday. He is on very good terms with John Russell, but hardly understands what he would be at, and for the good reason probably that Johnny does not know himself. There is a Ministerial crisis going on at this moment about Italy, the three Confederates wanting of course to do more than the sober-minded majority can agree to. I suppose it will be decided at the Cabinet to-day, and that some middle course will be discovered, as I shall not believe, till it is a *fait accompli*, that Palmerston will allow the Government to break up on a question which will not carry the country with him. The people dislike Austria and wish well to the Italians, but they want not to interfere in the affairs of either, and I doubt if they would give a man or a shilling to help Palmerston in blotting Austria out of the map of Europe and giving Sardinia

a much larger slice of the map. That twofold object amounts to monomania now with Palmerston, and I believe he would sacrifice office to attain it, which is the highest test of his sincerity. 'The three confederates are Palmerston, John Russell, and Gladstone.

*London, January 22nd.*—For the last three weeks the sayings and doings of the Emperor Napoleon have occupied all thoughts in every part of Europe, and he has wellnigh recovered in this country the confidence and popularity which had been exchanged for distrust, suspicion, and alarm. It would really look as if the sole or at least the main object of his policy was to conciliate English opinion and to ingratiate himself with the present Government; and he certainly has exhibited great courage and above all a boundless confidence in his own power and authority in his own country. There was a time when he paid great court to the Catholic clergy in France, and it was supposed that his motive in retaining the French troops in Rome (which it was known he very much disliked) was his apprehension lest their withdrawal should expose the Pope's person or Government to danger, which the clergy in France would not readily forgive him for doing. When he made peace with Austria he still evinced a desire to uphold the dignity and authority of the Pope, and therefore nobody was the least prepared for the pamphlet of 'The Pope and the Congress.' It fell like a thunderbolt, striking terror into the minds of all the Papal supporters and adherents, and filling with joy all revolted Italy, and with a more sober satisfaction all the Liberals and ultra-Protestants here.

We had hardly recovered from our amazement at this great change in the foreign policy of France, when we were still more astonished and pleased by the publication of the Emperor's letter to Fould, in which he announced his intention to change the whole commercial policy of France, and to make her a country of Free Trade. In thus confronting at once the Clerical body and the Protectionist interest in France, he has certainly acted with enormous boldness and reliance on

his own influence and power, and it will be very interesting to see whether the success of his policy corresponds with its audacity. The Commercial Treaty has been in great measure the work of Cobden, who went over to Paris under the wing of Michel Chevalier and with letters to Cowley, who introduced him to everybody who could be of use to him in his endeavours to forward a Free Trade policy. The scheme seems to have been arranged between the Emperor and Fould without the knowledge or participation of any of the other Ministers. Cobden had no mission, but he reported his progress home, and as an acknowledgement of his exertions he is to be made joint Plenipotentiary with Cowley in signing the Commercial Treaty.

The return of Cavour to power looks as if there was a secret understanding between France and England that the King of Sardinia should be permitted to consummate the annexation of all the revolted provinces to his dominions ; for this object, which Palmerston has so much at heart, he would gladly consent to the transference of Savoy to France, which most people think will take place ; but everything is still and must be for some time in the greatest uncertainty in North Italy, the only thing *apparently* certain being that the Dukes will not recover their Duchies, and still less the Pope his Romagna.

*January 24th.*—To-day Parliament opens, and everything promises a prosperous session for the Government. So little spirit is there in the Opposition, that very few of them are expected to make their appearance, and Disraeli, under the pretext of a family affliction, gives no dinner ; but the probable cause of this is not the death of his sister, which happened two months ago, but his own uncertainty as to whom he should invite, and who would be disposed to own political allegiance by accepting his invitation. Such is the disorganised state of that party.

Clarendon called on me yesterday, and told me various things more or less interesting about passing events, about

Cobden and the Commercial Treaty. Cobden went over to Paris with letters from Palmerston to Cowley, begging Cowley would give him all the aid he could in carrying out his object of persuading the leading people there to adopt Free Trade principles, saying he went without any mission and as 'a free lance.' Cowley did what he could for him, and he went about his object with great zeal, meanwhile putting himself in correspondence with Gladstone, who eagerly backed him up, but all this time nothing was said to the Cabinet on the subject. At length one day Walewski sent for Cowley, and asked him whether he was to understand that Cobden was an agent of the British Government, and authorised by it to say all he was saying in various quarters. Cowley denied all knowledge of Cobden's proceedings, but wrote a despatch to John Russell stating what had occurred, and at the same time a ~~private~~ letter, \*saying he did not know whether he would wish such a despatch to be recorded, and therefore to number it and place it in the Foreign Office, or put it in the fire as he thought fit. John Russell accepted the despatch, and at the same time told him he might endorse whatever Cobden did in the matter of commercial engagements.

Clarendon said that when he was at Paris four years ago for the Congress, the Emperor one day said to him, 'I know you are a great Free Trader, and I suppose you mean to take this opportunity of advancing Free Trade principles here as far as you can.' Clarendon said certainly such was his intention, when the Emperor said he was happy to be able to take the initiative with him on this subject, and that he would tell him that it had just been settled in the Council of State that a great change in their commercial and prohibitive system should be proposed to the Chambers, which it was his intention to carry out as soon as possible. But not long after the Emperor renewed the subject, and told him he found the opposition so strong to his contemplated measures and the difficulties so great, that he had been obliged to abandon them for the present, and as there is no reason to doubt that the elements of

opposition will be found as strong now as they were then, it is by no means certain that His Majesty will be able now to do all he wishes and has announced. It has already been stated in the French papers that something is to be done to meet the objection or allay the apprehensions of the French Protectionists, and Clarendon thinks it very doubtful whether the Commercial Treaty, which will confer advantages on France immediately without any reciprocal ones to us for eighteen months to come, will be received with much favour here, especially as the loss to our revenue will require the imposition of fresh taxes to a considerable amount.

We discussed the Italian question, and he said the Emperor is in a constant state of doubt and perplexity, one while inclining to the Congress, and another to leaving affairs to be settled without one. Granville told me last night there appears a chance of the Pope's consenting to enter the Congress with the expectation of being supported there by a majority of the Powers, and deriving considerable benefit from such support. The Emperor Napoleon, too, now shows some signs of drawing closer to Austria again, while Austria is quite determined never to consent to any of the schemes of revolution and annexation which France and England are intent upon carrying out. Apponyi told Clarendon, with tears in his eyes, that they were ruined, and quite unable to take any active part, but that in the way of *passive* resistance they might still do a great deal, and that they should not only refuse with the greatest perseverance to set their hands to any paper acknowledging the new state of things, but that they should solemnly protest against it on every occasion and in every way in their power. Austria therefore never will consent to the annexation of Central Italy to Piedmont, and if it takes place in spite of her remonstrances and in direct violation of the conditions of Villafranca and Zurich, she will not only *refuse* her recognition, but proclaim her intention of biding her time, with a view to avail herself of future possible contingencies to redress the wrongs of which she may justly complain. I asked Claren-

don if he did not think it possible a *mezzo termine* might be effected by which France and Austria might again be put *d'accord*, France saying, 'I would carry out the stipulations of Zurich if I could, but you see it is impossible. Still I will not consent to arrangements obnoxious to you and in direct violation of them, such as the annexations to Piedmont ; let us recur to the formation of a Central Italian independent State.' Clarendon said this had been his own idea, and he still thought it was not impossible that such a compromise should be effected. It is hardly possible to doubt that if Cavour succeeds in annexing to Piedmont all the Central Italian States, a very short time will elapse before war will break out again between Sardinia and Austria, and that Austria will have to relinquish her Venetian possessions or fight for their retention.

*January 27th.* —The session opened with great appearance of quiet and prosperity for the Ministers, which nothing that passed the first night in either House threatened to disturb. Derby made a very good and moderate speech. When he left office the Queen entreated him not to use the power he seemed to have from the nearly balanced state of parties to upset this Government, urging the great objections there were to eternal changes, and she repeated the same thing to him when he was at Windsor on a visit not long ago. Derby expressed his entire concurrence with her, and he promised to act in conformity with her wishes, and he has entirely done so. Nothing could be more temperate and harmless than the few remarks he made on Tuesday night, but leaving himself quite unfettered on every point.

In the meantime there is apparently a strong feeling of doubt and quasi-hostility getting up against the Commercial Treaty, and it looks as if the English and French Governments would both have great difficulties in the matter. Public opinion here remains suspended till the Treaty is produced, and till we are informed what the immediate sacrifices may be that we shall have to make for it, and what are the prospective advantages we obtain in return. The French Protectionists are more

impatient, and have begun to pour out their complaints and indignation without waiting to see the obnoxious Convention. Thiers is said to be furious. So far from any Commercial Treaty like this cementing the alliance, and rendering war between the two countries more difficult, it is much more likely to inflame the popular antipathy in France, to make the alliance itself odious, and render the chances of war between the two countries more probable. In maturing his scheme Louis Napoleon has given it all the appearance of a conspiracy, which is in accordance with his character and his tastes. The whole thing was carried on with the most profound secrecy, and the secret was confined to a very few people, viz. the Emperor himself, Fould, Rouher (Minister of Commerce), Michel Chevalier, and Cobden. All the documents were copied by Madame Rouher, and Rouher was so afraid that some guesses might be made if he was known to be consulting books and returns that were preserved in the Library of the Council of State, that he never would look at any of them, and made Chevalier borrow all that he had occasion to refer to. Now the Emperor springs this Treaty upon his reluctant Chambers and the indignant Protectionist interest. His manner of doing the thing, which he thinks is the only way by which it can be done at all, naturally adds to the resentment the measure excites. They feel themselves in a manner taken in. The objections here are of a different kind and on other grounds, but Gladstone kept his design nearly as close as the Emperor did, never having imparted it to the Cabinet till the last moment before Parliament met. I do not know how the Cabinet looked at it, only that they were not unanimous.

While, however, it seems at least doubtful how the Government will fare when they produce this Treaty, it appears certain that they will get into a scrape with their Reform Bill. I had imagined from all I heard that the Government were certain to bring forward a measure so moderate as to insure the support or at least prevent the opposition of the Conservatives, or certainly of a large proportion of them. Everything rendered this

probable. The assurances conveyed to the Government by Walpole, the professions of Disraeli, the apathy of the country, and the total failure of Bright's attempts to get up the steam, all encouraged them to take this course, and the Duke of Bedford told me Lord John was not so tied and bound by his declarations last year that he would not concur in any moderate measure that the Cabinet might frame. A few days ago, however, I asked Clarendon what the Bill would be, and he alarmed me by his reply that 'it would be as bad as possible,' John Russell having insisted upon the franchise being in accordance with his pledges, and upon his consistency being entirely preserved. This meant of course a 6*l.* franchise, which everybody denounces as full of mischief and danger.

Just now Henry Lennox came to me and told me that all the dissensions and jealousies of the Conservative party and the Carlton Club had been suddenly appeased, and that from being split into little sections and coteries, squabbling among themselves and forming plots to oust Disraeli, and elevate one man or another in his place, they were suddenly reunited as one man in opposition to the Bill that they hear is to be offered to them, and that Disraeli will be higher than ever in their confidence and support. The Government estimate their majority at four, leaving out of calculation the Irish Catholics, who will probably all vote against them on every question, and the Conservatives boast of having 320 men who will cling together with immovable constancy in opposition to the 6*l.* clause. That they will be able to carry it under these circumstances seems impossible. Lord John is himself to bring on the Reform Bill. The best thing that could happen (unless they are warned in time and alter their measure) would be that he should be beaten on the 6*l.* franchise, go out upon it and the rest stay in; but whether they would think themselves bound to stand or fall with him and break up the Government for his sake, I have at present no idea. The Queen would no doubt do all in her power to induce Palmerston to let him go, replace him, and carry on the Government without him. His

loss would be a gain in every possible way, and the Government would be strengthened instead of being weakened by his absence, even though he should throw himself into the arms of Bright and join him in a Radical opposition to his former colleagues.

*Bath, February 15th.*—When I left London a fortnight ago the world was anxiously expecting Gladstone's speech in which he was to put the Commercial Treaty and the Budget before the world. His own confidence and that of most of his colleagues in his success was unbounded, but many inveighed bitterly against the Treaty, and looked forward with great alarm and aversion to the Budget. Clarendon shook his head, Overtone pronounced against the Treaty, the '*Times*' thundered against it, and there is little doubt that it was unpopular, and becoming more so every day. Then came Gladstone's unlucky illness, which compelled him to put off his *exposé*, and made it doubtful whether he would not be physically disabled from doing justice to the subject. His doctor says he ought to have taken two months' rest instead of two days. However, at the end of his two days' delay he came forth, and *consensu omnium* achieved one of the greatest triumphs that the House of Commons ever witnessed. Everybody I have heard from admits that it was a magnificent display, not to be surpassed in ability of execution, and that he carried the House of Commons completely with him. I can well believe it, for when I read the report of it the next day (a report I take to have given the speech verbatim) it carried me along with it likewise. For the moment opposition and criticism were silenced, and nothing was heard but the sound of praise and admiration. In a day or two, however, men began to disengage their minds from the bewitching influence of this great oratorical power, to examine calmly the different parts of the wonderful piece of machinery which Gladstone had constructed, and to detect and expose the weak points and objectionable provisions which it contained. I say *it*, for, as the Speaker writes to me, it must be taken as a whole or rejected as a whole, and he adds the first will be its fate.

Clarendon, who has all along disapproved of the Treaty, wrote to me that Gladstone's success was complete, and public opinion in his favour. He says : 'I expect that the London feeling will be reflected from the country, so that there will be no danger of rejection, though I think that the more the whole thing is considered, the less popular it will become. The non-provision for the enormous deficit that will exist next year will strike people, as well as the fact that the Budget is made up of expedients for the present year. The non-payment of the Exchequer bonds is to all intents and purposes a loan ; the war tax on tea and sugar, the windfall of the Spanish payment, the making the maltsters and hopgrowers pay in advance, &c., are all stopgaps. If anybody proposes it, I shall not be surprised, if an additional *1d.* Income Tax in place of the war duties was accepted by Gladstone. He has a fervent imagination, which furnishes facts and arguments in support of them ; he is an audacious innovator, because he has an insatiable desire for popularity, and in his notions of government he is a far more sincere Republican than Bright, for his ungratified personal vanity makes him wish to subvert the institutions and the classes that stand in the way of his ambition. The two are converging from different points to the same end, and if Gladstone remains in office long enough and is not more opposed by his colleagues than he has been hitherto, we shall see him propose a graduated Income Tax.' These are only objections to the Budget, and speculations (curious ones) as to the character and futurity of Gladstone.

In another letter he says : 'Gladstone made a fair defence of the Treaty, though there are things in it which deserve the severest criticism and will get it, such as tying ourselves down about the exportation of coal (which is a munition of war), letting in French silks free while ours are to pay thirty per cent., and establishing a differential duty of nearly fifty per cent. in favour of light French wines against the stronger wines of Spain and Portugal, for that will be the operation of the Treaty.' Since all this was written there has been a meeting

of the Conservative party, and I hear this morning that Derby has decided to take the field with all his forces with a Resolution against the condition about the exportation of coal, and confining himself to that, which will very likely be carried. On the other hand, the publicans and licensed victuallers appear to be in arms against that part of the Budget which more immediately interests them, and are waging a fierce war in the Press by their paper, the '*Morning Advertiser*', so that in spite of his great triumph and all the admiration his eloquence and skill elicited, it is not all sunshine and plain sailing with his measures. Delane writes to me that Gladstone will find it hard work to get his Budget through, that Peel when he brought forward his Budget had a majority of ninety, all of which he required to do it, whereas Palmerston cannot command a majority of nine.

*London, February 22nd.*—I returned to town on Monday. The same night a battle took place in the House of Commons, in which Gladstone signally defeated Disraeli, and Government got so good a majority that it looks like the harbinger of complete success for their Treaty and their Budget. Everybody agrees that nothing could be more brilliant and complete than Gladstone's triumph, which did not seem to be matter of much grief to many of the Conservative party, for I hear that however they may still act together on a great field-day, the hatred and distrust of Disraeli is greater than ever in the Conservative ranks, and Derby himself, when he heard how his colleague had been demolished, did not seem to care much about it. They say that he betrays in the House of Commons a sort of consciousness of his inferiority to Gladstone, and of fear of encountering him in debate.

*February 26th.*—On Friday night Gladstone had another great triumph. He made a splendid speech, and obtained a majority of 116, which puts an end to the contest. He is now the great man of the day, but these recent proceedings have strikingly displayed the disorganised condition of the Conservative party and their undisguised dislike of their leader. A great

many of them voted with Government on Friday night, and more expressed satisfaction at the result being a defeat of Disraeli. The Treaty and Budget, though many parts of both are obnoxious to criticism more or less well founded, seem on the whole not unpopular, and since their first introduction to have undoubtedly gained in public favour. This fact and the state of the Opposition prove the impossibility of any change of Government. Gladstone too, as he is strong, seems disposed to be merciful, and has expressed his intention of taking fairly into consideration the various objections that may be brought forward, and to consent to reasonable alterations when good cases are made out for them. There seems no doubt that his great measures were not approved of by the majority of the Cabinet, but the malcontents do not seem to have been disposed to fight much of a battle against the minority, which included both Palmerston and Lord John.

It is curious how this great question has thrown into the background all the questions about Italy and foreign policy, in regard to which public interest seems to be for the moment suspended, while Italian affairs are at a dead lock. It would be very inconsistent with the Emperor's character if he had given up his design of appropriating Savoy, but he has certainly postponed it, and will probably employ his versatile imagination in weaving some fresh web by means of which he may get it into his power. I have been reading the Italian Blue Book, which is a creditable compilation. John Russell's positions are not unsound, but he is too controversial in his tone, and though he treats Austria with a decent consideration, and in no unfriendly spirit, he might as well have avoided arguing with Count Rechberg upon points and principles on which it was impossible they should ever agree. Throughout this compilation the embarrassment and perplexity of the Emperor Napoleon are conspicuous, and the difficulties into which he got himself by his vacillations and incompatible objects and obligations. His desire to adhere to the engagements he contracted at Villafranca is obvious throughout, and the advice he

gave the Pope seems to have been the best possible, and given in all sincerity.<sup>1</sup>

*February 27th.*—Gladstone is said to have become subject to much excitement, and more bitter in controversy in the House of Commons than was his wont. The severe working of his brain and the wonderful success he has obtained may account for this, and having had his own way and triumphed over all opposition in the Cabinet, it is not strange that he should brook none anywhere else. He has not failed to show a little of the clovèn foot, and to alarm people as to his future designs. Clarendon, who watches him, and has means of knowing his disposition, thinks that he is moving towards a Democratic union with Bright, the effect of which will be increased Income Tax and lowering the estimates by giving up the defences of the country, to which Sidney Herbert will never consent, and already these old friends and colleagues appear to be fast getting into a state of antagonism. Aberdeen told Clarendon that they would never go on together, and he thought Sidney Herbert would retire from the Cabinet before the end of the session. This, of course, implies that Gladstone's policy is to be in the ascendant, and that he is to override the Cabinet.

There has been a dispute about the introduction of the Reform Bill. Lord John's colleagues wished him to defer bringing it on till more progress had been made in the fiscal and commercial measures, and represented the inconvenience of having the two discussions going on at the same time, but nothing would induce him to postpone it, and for the absurd reason that he wanted to bring in this Bill on the *same day* on

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor told Metternich the other day that he had made one great mistake, which he had never ceased to regret, that immediately after Villafranca he ought to have marched 100,000 men into Tuscany on the plea of embarking them at Leghorn, and continued to occupy the country till the restoration of the Grand Duke was accomplished, but that he had never contemplated the invincible resistance of the whole population.—C. C. G.

which he had introduced the great Reform Bill in 1831, and to this fanciful object he insisted on sacrificing all others.

*Hatchford, March 7th.*—Lord John Russell brought in his Reform Bill last week without exciting the smallest interest, or even curiosity, amidst profound indifference in the House and in the country. His measure was very moderate, and his speech temperate. It produces no enthusiasm, or satisfaction, or alarm. It will probably pass without any violent debates, and perhaps with very slight alterations. If the opponents should succeed in making some, Lord John is not prepared to adhere obstinately to his measure, but will come to terms. It was settled that no discussion should take place at the time, and nobody was inclined for any. It hardly delayed the progress of Gladstone's measures, so we heard no more complaints of Lord John's pertinacity in bringing it on upon March 1st.

The Treaty, the Budget, and the Reform Bill had thrown foreign affairs into the background, but the interest in them was suddenly aroused, and speedily absorbed every other, by the Emperor's speech and M. Thouvenel's despatches, all so mortifying and provoking to us. Up to this moment Palmerston had been highly elated, and he and Lord John had been exulting in the fancied glory of being the Liberators of Italy, and of having procured the complete success of their own objects. As Clarendon wrote to me, 'The Emperor must greatly enjoy the helplessness of Europe, and in feeling that he may do just what he likes with perfect impunity. Russia is crippled, Austria rotten, Germany disunited, and England, though growling, occupied in gnawing the 'Treaty bone he has tossed to her. All must submit to the laws made known to them through the "Moniteur." If it were not so melancholy to see the miserable figure which England cuts in all this, it would be amusing to see it happen *regnante* Palmerston, and after all his incurable meddling and blustering to see him obliged to eat so much dirt. He may (though probably he does not) think he has lived too long to be reserved at the last period of his political career for such mortification. The

Emperor said to somebody, ‘L’Europe boudera, mais je fera rien,’ and he is quite right. We seem to have arrived at the last act of the Italian drama, but it is still very uncertain how the *dénouement* will be worked out and what the Emperor’s final will and pleasure will be. The Romagna seems to present the greatest difficulty; all the rest will find a tolerably easy solution. France will take what she wants of Savoy and give the rest to Switzerland, who upon those conditions is desirous of annexation, and Piedmont does not seem to care much about it. In this way the question of Savoy will be settled, if not by general consent, at least with general acquiescence and without any opposition.

*March 9th.*—After all it is not improbable that Palmerston will have the gratification of seeing Tuscany annexed to Sardinia. Cavour has taken the line which Clarendon and I agreed that he would very likely do, and sets France and Austria at defiance. We have seen France and Sardinia joined in making war upon Austria, and now we have France and Austria joined in diplomacy against Sardinia. Nothing can be more curious than to see the unravelling of this web. Next week the Italian States will severally vote their annexation to Sardinia or their separate existence. If, as is almost certain, the former is their decision, the King will accept their resolution, and Piedmontese troops will march into Tuscany. Then we shall see what the Emperor Napoleon will do, and what he will permit Austria to do.

*Savernake, March 18th.*—The affair of Savoy has been summarily settled by the will of the Emperor and the connivance of Cavour. The whole affair now appears to have been a concerted villainy between these worthies, which as the plot has been developed excites here the most intense disgust and indignation. The feeling is the stronger because we have no choice but that of sulky and grumbling acquiescence. The one redeeming point in the French act of violence was the apparent respect paid to Treaties and to the claims of Switzerland, Thouvenel having only the other day

said that Faucigny and Chablais should be ceded at once to Switzerland ; and now we hear that nothing of the kind is to be done, and that France seizes everything.<sup>1</sup> It is in vain that the Houses of Parliament are advised to cease barking, as they certainly do not mean to bite, and that the ‘Times’ recommends silence and moderation ; such enormities as are unblushingly exhibited to the world excite an indignation which breaks through every restraint, and people *will not* hold their peace, happen what may. The Opposition have turned the current of their wrath upon our Government, and have proved clearly enough that they had ample and timely notice of the Emperor’s intentions, and that nevertheless they continued to urge with all their might that policy which was certain to lead to the annexation of Savoy. That the Emperor and Cavour have been plotting together seems now quite certain, but we are still ignorant, and may perhaps ever remain so, of the details of their delusive operations.

The three great subjects which have occupied public attention all this year have been the Italian and its branches, Gladstone’s Treaty and Budget, and the Reform Bill. Up to the present time the two first have absorbed all interest, and the new Reform Bill has been received with almost complete apathy, nobody appearing to know or care what its effects would be, and most people misled by an apparent show of moderation and harmlessness in its details. But in the course of the last week the ‘Times’ set to work, in a series of very able articles, to show the mischievous and dangerous effects that the proposed franchise will produce, and these warnings, supported by ample statistical details, have begun to arouse

<sup>1</sup> [It is within my own knowledge that M. Thouvenel expressed at that time the desire of the Emperor to do anything he could *to help Lord Palmerston*, and accordingly he proposed, unofficially, to surrender and annex a considerable portion of the Faucigny district, down to the Fort de l’Ecluse in the Jura, to the Canton of Geneva, provided the British Government would assent to the acquisition by France of the rest of Savoy. Lord Palmerston rejected the proposal, saying to the person who conveyed it to him, ‘We shall shame them out of it.’—H. R.]

people from their indifference and to create some apprehensions. I am informed that John Russell framed his Bill in utter ignorance of these important details, and, with the mixture of levity and obstinacy which has always distinguished him, has plunged the country into this dilemma for the sake of his own selfish and ambitious objects. But what is incomprehensible is that in such a numerous Cabinet as the present, and containing many men who certainly once had strong Conservative opinions, he should not have met with a more strenuous opposition, and have been forced to alter his most obnoxious propositions, and I think those who were better informed than Lord John, and saw whither his plan of Reform was leading them, are more to blame than himself. It is impossible to meet with any man who approves of this Bill, and who does not abhor the idea of any Reform whatever. All say that if the members voted by ballot there would be almost unanimity against it, and yet such is the disorganised state of the Conservative party, and such the want of moral courage and independence generally, that this Bill will most likely pass unaltered.

The prevailing hope is that the House of Lords will amend it, but Derby told somebody (I think it was Clarendon) that if those who dreaded the mischief of the measure in the House of Commons had not the courage and honesty to oppose it there and correct it, the House of Lords should not, so far as his influence went, incur the odium of doing the work which the House of Commons ought itself to do. Lyndhurst told me the other day that Derby had told Lady Lyndhurst he was so disgusted with the state of affairs at home and abroad, that he had serious thoughts of withdrawing from public life, and Clarendon told me that an eminent Conservative, who had begged not to be quoted, had said that he knew Derby was violently discontented with Disraeli, and prepared to dissolve their political connexion.

*Wells, March 21st.*—I came here from Savernake on Monday. On Friday last in the House of Lords the Com-

mercial Treaty and Budget, but the latter especially, were powerfully assailed by Grey, Overstone, and Derby, and very considerably damaged *in argument*, but probably in nothing else. The Government are as weak in the Lords as the Opposition are in the Commons, where, however, Disraeli seems to have made a very good speech against the Reform Bill on Monday night.

*Torquay, March 28th.*—The past week has been remarkable for the speech in which John Russell denounced in strong language the conduct of France, declared that we could no longer trust her, and that we must renew our intiances with the other Powers. Whether all this was sincere and meant all it seems to do is yet to be discovered. The week was near being still more remarkable, for the Reform Bill was within an ace of falling to the ground by the House being counted out in the midst of a debate. This would have been very ridiculous, but would have been hailed with delight by the House of Commons, and without dissatisfaction by the country. Clarendon writes to me in a strain of bitter hostility to the Bill and disgust at everything, complains of the general apathy and the impossibility of rousing any spirit of opposition to what all abhor. Derby told him that if twenty-five or even twenty Liberals would *take the lead* in opposing this Bill, the whole Conservative party would support them. Clarendon wrote to me when I was at Bath that the time would probably come when Gladstone would propose a graduated Income Tax, and lo ! it has nearly come, for Gladstone gave notice the other night to people to be prepared for it. The Triumvirate of Palmerston, John Russell, and Gladstone, who have it all their own way, dragging after them the Cabinet, the House of Commons, and the country, will probably be the ruin of this country. They are playing into the Emperor Napoleon's hands, who has only to be patient and bide his time, and he will be able to treat all Europe, England included, in any way he pleases. Nothing but some speedy change of Government and of system can avert the impending ruin.

*London, April 2nd.*—One day last week (as mentioned above), on one of the numerous discussions of the Savoy question in the House of Commons, John Russell electrified the House and rather astonished the country by delivering a very spirited speech, denouncing in strong terms the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, and declaring the necessity of cultivating relations with the other Great Powers for the purpose of putting an effectual check upon the projects of French aggrandisement and annexation. I must own that my first impression was that this speech was made merely to deceive the House and the country, and was only a part of the collusive system between our Government and the French, by virtue of which Louis Napoleon has been enabled to work out all his objects and designs ; but though it is impossible to doubt that John Russell and Palmerston have all along been aware of the Emperor's intentions with regard to Savoy, and that they have been more intent upon procuring advantages for Sardinia and provoking Austria than upon thwarting the projects of France, I am inclined to see Lord John's speech in another light from what I hear since I came to town. He made it without any previous consultation with his colleagues, it having been one of those impromptus which he is so apt to indulge in, and Palmerston, seeing the way in which it was received in the House and by the Press, approved of its tone and expressed a full concurrence with it. Flahault, who went to Paris a few days ago, called on Palmerston before he went and asked if he wished him to say or do anything there. Palmerston said he might inform the Government that Lord John's speech expressed the unanimous opinion of the Cabinet here. In my opinion his speech was a great imprudence, and will probably involve the necessity of our eating a great deal of humble pie. We have long ago declared that though we disapprove very much of the annexation of Savoy, we should take no steps to prevent it ; but Lord John made a great distinction between the question of Savoy and Nice and that of Faucigny and Chablais, and though he did not commit

himself to any positive course, he gave it to be inferred that something more would be required from us, in the way of opposition to the seizure of the latter, than there was any necessity for our making to that of the former. But the Emperor makes no such distinctions, and if, as is most probable, he does not admit our right to draw them, we shall be in an unpleasant fix, and have to back out of the position we have assumed in a way neither dignified nor creditable.

The accounts from Paris are that this speech has made the French very insolent, and the Emperor more popular than he has been for a long time, as even his enemies say that they will rally round him to chastise English impertinence. Then as to forming alliances with the other Powers, which of course will be taken (as was intended) as a menace to France, nothing could be more ill-advised than such an announcement, for the other Great Powers have neither the ability nor the inclination to join us in any coalition, present or prospective, against France. Russia and Austria hate us, as well they may, for we have done them both all the injury in our power, besides heaping every sort of insult upon them. Austria is totally ruined, hopelessly bankrupt and torn to pieces with internal disaffection and discontent. Russia is hampered with her great Serf question, and overwhelmed with financial embarrassments, which she owes in great measure to the Crimean War, and the unfortunate dissension and estrangement between her and Austria are attributable to the same cause and to our policy. Prussia, the only one of the three that is able to make any efforts, and that has no cause of enmity against us, is always selfish and timorous, and is more occupied in trying to supplant Austria in Germany than in taking defensive measures against French ambition; nor is there in Germany any such strong sentiment of national independence as might induce the various States to sink their minor jealousies and partisanships in a general union, to meet any aggression that may proceed from France. Among the many schemes which the Imperial brain is supposed to be con-

tinually engendering, it is far from impossible that one may be the reconstruction of the kingdom of Westphalia, or at least of some Rhenish kingdom with the concurrence of Prussia, by concluding a bargain of partition with her. He might then replace old Jerome on the throne, and so get rid of his obnoxious son, of course taking as much of such acquired territory as he wanted for himself. All this is mere vague conjectural speculation, but it is *on the cards*, and it is at least as probable as that we should be able to form another coalition, like that which overthrew the first Napoleon, strong enough to cope with the present Napoleon. People are beginning at last to doubt whether the war we waged against Russia four years ago was really a wise and politic measure ; but the whole country went mad upon that subject, I never could understand why. Palmerston took it up to make political capital out of it, and made himself popular by falling in with the public humour, and making the country believe that he was the only man really determined to make war on Russia, and able to bring the war to a successful end. Aberdeen, who was wise enough to see the folly of quarrelling with Russia and sacrificing all our old alliances to a new and deceitful one with France, was unable to stem the torrent, and fell under its violence. His fault was his not resigning office when he found it impossible to carry out his policy and maintain peace.

*A propos* of the Russian War, I heard lately an anecdote for the first time that surprised me. Everybody knows that we beat up for allies and even mercenary aid against Russia in every direction, but it is not known that our Government earnestly pressed the Portuguese Government to join in the war, and to send a contingent to the Crimea, and that on the refusal of the latter to do so, the Ministers made the Queen appeal personally to Lavradio and urge him to persuade his Government to comply with our wishes ; but Lavradio represented to Her Majesty, as he had done to her Ministers, that Portugal had no quarrel with Russia, and no interest in joining in the war ; on the contrary, Portugal was under obliga-

tions to the Emperor of Russia, and she therefore would have nothing to do with the contest.<sup>1</sup>

*April 4th.*—Clarendon has just been here talking over the state of affairs, in the course of which he alluded to what had passed in the autumn of '58 between the Emperor and him, and between His Majesty and Palmerston. In September he had a long conversation with the Emperor, in the course of which he asked Clarendon, ‘Supposing I find myself compelled to go to war with Austria, what part would England take in the contest?’ Clarendon replied that it would depend upon the circumstances of the case and the cause that would be shown for such a war, and that he must not be misled by the language of the English Press and the prejudice which no doubt existed in England against Austria and her system of government, which would not be sufficient to make us take any part against her. On comparing notes with Palmerston afterwards, Clarendon found that Louis Napoleon had put the same question to Palmerston, who had given him the same answer. When they went to Compiègne in November of the same year, they both had conversations separately of the same character, and when they afterwards compared notes and Clarendon asked Palmerston what impression the Emperor’s words had left on his mind, Palmerston replied he thought either that the Emperor had abandoned the design he had certainly been meditating to go to war, or he had resolved upon it, but did not choose to acknowledge his intentions to them, and this Clarendon said was exactly the same opinion as he had formed. This, however, was not above six weeks before his famous speech to the Austrian Ambassador (which was a declaration of war), and therefore the latter conjecture

<sup>1</sup> [Since the publication of the first edition of this work, Sir Theodore Martin, who has had access to every document of importance, either of a private or a public nature, which passed between the Governments of England and Portugal at this period, has been authorised to state that in every particular this anecdote is wholly without foundation. Mr. Greville merely relates it as a statement he had heard with surprise.]

was the correct one. We talked over Lord John's speech and his letter in answer to Thouvenel. Clarendon said that this despatch was entirely written by Palmerston himself, that anybody as well acquainted with their styles as he was must be quite certain of this, but that he knew it to be the case. He had a conversation with Palmerston the other day, who praised Lord John's speech and said it would do good, and he thought *the question of Savoy was in a very satisfactory state.*

Palmerston, he told me, had said more to Flahault<sup>1</sup> than I had been apprised of. Flahault went to him, and found him just going to the House of Commons. Flahault asked him to let him get into his carriage, which he did, and when Flahault asked what he should say to the Emperor, and Palmerston told him to say that the Emperor had better read Lord John's speech, and understand that he (Palmerston) agreed in every word of it, Flahault said, 'Then you mean that you have no longer any confidence in the Emperor, or place any reliance upon his word.' Palmerston replied, 'I do mean this. After having been repeatedly deceived and misled by his professions and assurances, it is impossible that I can place any further confidence in him.' Then said Flahault, 'There will be war,' to which Palmerston rejoined that he hoped not, that nobody could be more anxious to avoid war than he was.

This was very spirited and becoming, and Clarendon said he highly approved of such a tone. I said that I had all along suspected that there was a secret understanding and collusion between Palmerston and the Emperor, and that Palmerston had given His Majesty to understand that if he would set Italy free, he might do what he pleased with regard to Savoy, but that what had recently passed seemed to negative that idea. Clarendon replied he had no doubt Palmerston had very often said to Persigny what, if repeated by Persigny to the Emperor with some exaggerations and suppressions, would convey as much to His Majesty, for Palmerston had a dozen times said

<sup>1</sup> [Count de Flahault was at this time French Ambassador in London.]

to him (Clarendon) that the liberation and settlement of Italy was of far greater consequence than the preservation of Savoy to Piedmont.

*April 8th.*—To The Grove on Thursday afternoon, and returned yesterday. On Good Friday morning George Lewis and I were left alone, when we talked over the questions of the day, and he quite amazed me by the way in which he spoke of his principal colleagues. I asked him if John Russell was not exceedingly mortified at the ill-success of his Reform Bill and its reception in the House of Commons and in the country. George Lewis said he did not think he felt this, that at present his mind was entirely occupied with foreign politics, and he was rejoicing in the idea of having been largely instrumental to the liberation of Italy ; and as to Reform, that he was satisfied with having redeemed the pledge he gave to Bright to propose a 6*l.* franchise, and having done this he did not care about the result, as he had never pledged himself to carry it. The most strange thing to me is, that George Lewis seemed not to be alive to the culpable levity of such conduct, or to the censure to which his own conduct is obnoxious in consenting to act with such a man, and to be a party to such a measure.

With regard to Palmerston, he said that Palmerston thought of nothing but his pro-Sardinian and anti-Austrian schemes, and he was gratified by seeing everything in that quarter turning out according to his wishes, that in the Cabinet he took very little part and rarely spoke. Gladstone George Lewis evidently distrusts, and his financial schemes and arrangements are as distasteful to him as possible. He is provoked at Gladstone's being able to bear down all opposition, and carry all before him by the force of his eloquence and power of words, and what I have said of his conduct in supporting John Russell is still more applicable to it in reference to Gladstone and his measures, which he thinks more dangerous by far than he does Lord John's reform bill and 6*l.* clause. I asked him what was to be the end of this Bill, and he said he did not expect it to pass, that probably the debates on it would be so spun out and

so many delays interposed that either it would fail in the House of Commons itself, or, even if it passed, the House of Lords would say it came up too late for them to examine and consider it, and it would be thrown out there. I gathered in the course of conversation that Palmerston (whose whole antecedents and recorded opinions forbid the idea of his approving such a measure) would be glad to see the franchise raised, and that 8*l.* and 15*l.* would in his view improve the Bill. \*

*May 6th.*—Since I wrote the above, nearly a month ago, I have been out of the way of hearing anything on public affairs, till a day or two ago when I called on Clarendon, when he told me some things not without interest, partly about domestic and partly about foreign affairs. The latter of course related to the inexhaustible subject of the Emperor Napoleon's projects and machinations. His Majesty, it seems, has recently had a conversation with M. de Moustier, French Minister at Vienna, in the course of which he told him that it was an absolute necessity to France to carry her frontier to the Rhine. About the same time Cavour had signified (I forget whether it was to the same de Moustier or to some other person) that Sardinia must obtain possession of Venetia. These necessities, it can hardly be doubted, are expressed and resolved upon by a common accord. Austria has been already completely crippled by the late war ; if threatened in Italy she will employ all her resources in defence of her Italian territory, and she will be quite unable, even if she were willing, to join in any measures of resistance to the attempts of France upon Germany. Prussia has had the egregious folly to renew her feud with Denmark upon the affair of Schleswig-Holstein, and is about to provoke a fresh war on that question. Denmark thus threatened appeals to France for aid, which France is too happy to afford, as she will thereby in all probability find a good pretext for interference, and for the furtherance of all her designs. There seems no doubt that a Treaty of some sort has been concluded between France and Denmark. In this difficult and menacing posture of affairs, England will sooner or later have to play a part of

some sort, and it is disquieting enough to reflect upon our diplomacy being under the charge of John Russell and of Palmerston.

After lingering on for several weeks with unprecedented tardiness and delay, and a languid uninteresting discussion—debate it cannot be called—the second reading of the Reform Bill has at last passed without opposition. The last nights have been remarkable for the speeches hostile to the Bill of several Liberal members, and the increasing proofs of its prodigious unpopularity. Everybody is sick of the subject, and those who desire that some modified and amended measure may pass, only do so because they have a horror of seeing another Bill brought in next year, and they hope that they may now purge this Bill of its worst and most dangerous defects, and close the subject for several years to come. Some think that it is impossible to devise any means by which this Bill can be made anything like safe and expedient, and would therefore prefer to throw it out and run all chances for the future. At least one half of the Government, with Palmerston himself at the head of the dissentients, regard this Bill with alarm and aversion, and now that the difficulty, if not impossibility, of passing it is obvious, they are prepared to make every sort of sacrifice, even of its most vital provisions. Palmerston told George Lewis so, and that John Russell himself would submit to an alteration of the franchise to the amount of 15/- for the counties and 8/- for the towns. They know that no question of resignation is involved in this discussion, and that whatever may be the fate of their Bill, they will still keep their places, which no concession will endanger, and accordingly they are ready to agree to any compromise which will secure the Bill's passing through Parliament in any shape or way; but notwithstanding this pliant disposition, it is very doubtful whether the Bill can pass. It will not commence its career in Committee till the first week in June, and it is hardly possible it can reach the House of Lords before the middle or end of July, and the Lords may very well decline to enter on its consideration at that late period.

*May 9th.*—A correspondence appears in the newspapers between Lord Grey and John Russell, couched in terms of no small bitterness. Such a correspondence between men of such eminence and of the same political colour shows up to the world the insincerity with which, for political motives at the time urgent, they have spoken in their places in Parliament. It is no new thing that members of the same Cabinet should often differ, and that vehemently, on particular questions, and yet when these questions come under Parliamentary discussion, that they should exhibit to the world the semblance of an agreement and concurrence which is remote from the truth. But though this is well understood to be of not unfrequent occurrence, and sooner or later the details of the truth often leak out, it is much to be regretted that men should exhibit themselves and each other in the way which this correspondence does, for such exhibitions cannot fail to excite suspicions of the sincerity, conscientiousness, and truth of public men. When Governments are entirely of one party colour, either wholly Whig or wholly Tory, and when they are presided over by some man of supereminent authority, such differences and consequent difficulties are not likely to happen often ; but as of late years parties have been broken up, and composite Governments have been formed, combining men of the most opposite original principles, and imbued with very different and incompatible opinions on various subjects, it must be continually happening that candid discussions and disputes in the Cabinet should be followed by insincere and untruthful declarations and argumentations in public. The understood practice from time immemorial has been, that a dissentient from the general opinion of his colleagues upon any *important* question must either consent to merge his own opinion in theirs, or retire from office ; and then the conduct of the dissentient was regulated by his view of the *importance* of the matter at issue. Of course if a man were to break off from his colleagues upon every matter of difference, however small, no Government could possibly go on for many months or perhaps weeks, but it

is impossible in these days not to be struck with the fact that so many men are indisposed to consider anything of sufficient importance to resign their offices rather than sacrifice their enlightened consciences and mature judgements.

*May 12th.*—Not more than three months ago Gladstone was triumphant and jubilant ; he had taken the House of Commons and the country captive by his eloquence, and nothing was heard everywhere but songs of praise and admiration at his marvellous success and prodigious genius. There never was a greater reaction in a shorter time. Everybody's voice is now against him, and his famous Treaty and his Budget are pronounced enormous and dangerous blunders. Those who were most captivated now seem to be most vexed and ashamed of their former fascination. They are provoked with themselves for having been so duped, and a feeling of resentment and bitterness against him has become widely diffused in and out of the House of Commons, on his own side as well as on the other. It was the operation of this feeling which caused the narrow majority on the Paper Duties the other night, when it seems as if a little more management and activity might have put him in a minority, and it is the same thing which is now encouraging the House of Lords, urged on by Derby, to throw out the Resolution when it comes before them. Derby has announced that he shall exert himself to the utmost to procure the rejection of the Bill in the House of Lords, and if he perseveres he will probably obtain a very unwise and perilous success, which he will before long have to regret.

*May 17th.*—Clarendon dined with Derby about a week ago, when Derby explained to him all his reasons for persisting in his opposition to the Paper Duties Bill. Clarendon said he did not talk rashly and in Rupert vein, but gave a well-considered and well-argued statement of the grounds on which he purposed to proceed. Clarendon evidently sympathised with him, but not without much apprehension and doubt as to the expediency of his course. Derby appears to have taken and to

be taking prodigious pains with his case, and he said that his object was to have a great financial debate in the Lords on the Treaty and the Budget. Granville tells me they shall be beaten by a large majority, and he owns that the debate will be almost all one way. There is nothing on the Treasury Bench or behind it able to grapple with Derby, Monteagle, Overstone, and Grey on such a question, though Granville expects Argyll to get up the question and to speak well on it, and he expects something from Newcastle and Ripon, but Clarendon told me (which of course he had from Lewis) the curious fact that Palmerston himself views with pleasure the prospect of the rejection of the Bill. A queer state of things indeed when the Prime Minister himself secretly desires to see the defeat of a measure so precious to his own Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Frederick Cadogan came over from Paris the other day, and told Clarendon that Cowley was in very bad spirits about the aspect of foreign affairs, that all intimacy and confidence between the Emperor and him was at an end, and that it was more and more evident that His Majesty meant to follow his own devices, whatever they might be, without reference to anybody, or caring for the opposition or the assent of any other Powers.

The Garibaldi expedition is supposed to have given great umbrage to France, but not without some suspicions that secretly she is not sorry for it, and thinks in its complications she may find matter to turn to her own account. Everybody believes that Cavour has covertly connived at it, though he pretends to oppose it. Certainly no resolute attempts were made to obstruct the expedition by the Sardinian Government, and none whatever by France, who, if she really cared to stop it, might easily have done so by sending ships from Toulon for the purpose.

Talking of Neapolitan affairs, Pahlen told me yesterday an almost incredible anecdote, but of which he said there was no doubt of the truth. There is just arrived a new Neapolitan Minister, Count Ludolph, grandson of the Ludolph who was

formerly here. He has replaced the former Minister, who by his own desire was recently recalled, and he had begged for his recall because he had been grossly insulted by Palmerston at the Queen's Drawing Room, his story being that in that room, in the Queen's presence (who was of course out of hearing), Palmerston had attacked him on the proceedings of his Government and the conduct of the King, telling him that a revolution would probably be the consequence thereof, which would be nothing more than they deserved, and which would be seen in this country with universal satisfaction. The man was so flabbergasted by this unexpected and monstrous sortie that he had not presence of mind to make a suitable answer, and to *riposter* with the spirit which the occasion required of him. I must endeavour to find out if this is true. Palmerston has always been noted for the vivacity and often acerbity of his language in despatches, but in oral communications and in speeches he has never been reproached with intemperance or incivility, but, on the contrary, has always evinced self-control and gentleman-like and polite behaviour and language.

*May 28th.*—Epsom engaged all my attention last week, and I could not find time to notice the debate in the Lords on the Paper Duties, and the extraordinary majority, so much greater than anybody expected. Lyndhurst undertook to speak on the constitutional part of the question, and got leave to speak early (between Granville and Montague) that he might go home to celebrate his birthday, which fell on that day, when he completed his eighty-eighth year. He made a very good speech, and met with an enthusiastic reception. Lady Palmerston was in the gallery, openly expressing her wishes that the Bill might be rejected by a large majority. Her language on this and other occasions so shocked some of the more zealous Whigs, that the Duke of Bedford was asked by one or more of them to remonstrate with her on the way she talked, but she knows very well that Palmerston is of the same mind, though he cannot avow his real sentiments in the way she does. Palmerston said to Gladstone, ‘Of course you are mortified and

disappointed, but your disappointment is nothing to mine, who had a horse with whom I hoped to win the Derby, and he went amiss at the last moment.' The affair has gone off very quietly, the House of Commons not being the least disposed to quarrel with the Lords about it. Even John Russell, who had talked very absurdly, held moderate and prudent language in the House.<sup>1</sup>

*June 15th.*—At Ascot last week. Palmerston was there, and went up to town on Thursday (going reluctantly) to assist at the withdrawal by John Russell of the Reform Bill. There was a Cabinet the preceding day, at which Palmerston said, 'We must now settle what is to be done about the Reform Bill.' John Russell said, 'I know what my opinion is, and if anybody wishes to hear it I am ready to give it.' They all said they did wish it, when he announced that he thought it ought to be withdrawn. Everybody agreed except Gladstone, who made a long speech in favour of going on with it, which nobody replied to, and there it ended. A discussion took place as to what should be said, and strong opinions expressed that nothing but moderate language should be employed, which John Russell agreed to, and he acted up to it by making a very becoming speech, which would have been faultless if he had not announced another Reform Bill on the earliest possible occasion. This, too, he did entirely off his own bat, and without any consultation or agreement with his colleagues. Fortunately these announcements are no longer so important or so binding as heretofore, and I think it probable, unless there is some great change in public opinion (which is not likely), that when the time draws near Palmerston and a majority of the Cabinet will not consent to a fresh attempt.

<sup>1</sup> [A Bill for abolishing the duty on paper was carried in the House of Commons on March 12 by a majority of 245 to 192. It was rejected on May 21 by the House of Lords by a majority of 193 to 104. The dispute was eventually settled by a resolution for removing so much of the duty on paper as exceeded the Excise duty at home.]

*July 8th.*—I have been so ill till within the last few days that I have not had energy enough to do anything. I have known but little, and that little I could not bring myself to write down here. In fact, it is high time that I should close these records once for all, which I am morally and physically incapable of continuing with any probability of making them interesting. It is not very consistent with this opinion to fill a page or two with the recent transaction in the House of Commons, with reference to the duty on paper. Everybody allows that Palmerston got out of his difficulty with consummate tact and discretion, and that Gladstone's conduct was inexcusable. The Resolutions concocted by Palmerston had been fully discussed and agreed to in the Cabinet (reluctantly of course by Gladstone), and Palmerston's speech was received with general approbation in the House. It was excellent, fair and moderate, the argument logically consistent with the Resolutions, but displeasing to Gladstone and the highflyers because it made a sort of excuse for the Lords, or rather it set forth the grounds on which the Lords might think themselves justified in acting as they did, without having any of the motives and designs which the Gladstones and Brights attributed to them. All this elicited great applause from the Opposition side of the House, and their cheers were very offensive to and grated on the ears of the ultra-Liberals. Everything would have ended quietly, and the Resolutions would have passed without a debate, but Gladstone could not stand it, and, urged by spite and mortification, he must needs get up and make a most violent speech, really, though not avowedly, in opposition to Palmerston, and with the object of provoking a long and acrimonious debate. In this he only partially succeeded, and not for long. The debate lasted one night more, but nothing could be made of the Amendments.  
•Palmerston kept his temper and displayed great firmness and resolution. The House was with him. Bright, partly from being very unwell, and probably partly from some discretion, made a moderate speech; everybody seemed determined to

bring the matter to an end, and the Resolutions were very triumphantly carried. Granville told me yesterday morning that it was a toss up whether Gladstone resigned or not, and that if he did, it would break up the Liberal party, to which I replied that I was confident he would not resign, and if he did, it would have no effect on the bulk of the Liberal party.

*July 17th.*—I met Charles Villiers at dinner at the Travellers' last night and had some talk with him, particularly about Gladstone. He thinks it far better that he should not resign, as he could, and probably would, be very mischievous out of office. He says people do not know the House of Commons, and are little aware that there is an obscure but important element in it of a Radical complexion, and that there are sixty or seventy people who would constitute themselves followers of Gladstone, and urge him on to every sort of mischief. They are already doing all they can to flatter and cajole him, and once out of office, his great talents and oratorical powers would make him courted by all parties, even the Tories, who would each and all be very glad to enlist him in their service. It is impossible to calculate on the course of a man so variable and impulsive, but at present it looks as if he had made up his mind to swallow his mortifications and disappointments and to go on with his present colleagues, though Charles Villiers says he is very dejected and uneasy in his mind, and very gloomy in the Cabinet.

I asked him if he had seen Senior's last Journals, relating his visit to Paris, which he had not. I told him they were very interesting, and that all his interlocutors, however varying in opinions upon other subjects, were agreed as to the certainty of the Emperor's meditating fresh wars and aggressions, and sooner or later a war with us. He said he thought it probable that any attempt on Belgium would be deferred till after King Leopold's death (who is seventy-five years old), at which time in all probability the annexation would be attempted, and with very reasonable prospects of being assented to by the Belgians.

themselves, an idea which had not struck me, but which I think exceedingly likely.

*Buxton, August 11th.*—I came here for my health and to try and patch myself up a fortnight ago, since which I have heard and learnt nothing of what is passing in the world but what I read in the newspapers. The session of Parliament was drawing to a close, and it was understood that there was to be one more fight in the House of Commons (on the removal of the Customs duties on paper), and then the remaining business was to be hurried through as quickly as possible. The Opposition made strenuous efforts to obtain a majority, and were sanguine of success. The Speaker wrote me an account of what passed, and I shall copy out the greatest part of his letter. ‘The division of thirty-three on the Paper Duties was a surprise to all on the spot. As late as eleven that evening Sir George Grey told us the division seemed very doubtful. The Irishmen held off indignant at Palmerston’s having mentioned with approval the landing of Garibaldi on the mainland. This was held to be an insult to the Pope, so More O’Farrell, Monsell, Sir John Acton, and eight or ten more would not vote at all. It seemed doubtful to the last. It is a great thing for the Government in many ways, not the least in having won the battle without the Pope and his men. It puts the Government in so much better and stronger a position with that party. The great result is to give some life to half-dead, broken-down, tempest-tossed Gladstone. When after the division he rose to propose the second Resolution, he was cheered by the Free-Traders as he had not been cheered since the Budget Speech. Colonel Taylor tells me they had been led to success by promises from two quarters. First the paper-makers and the “Times” engaged to bring fifty men to the post, and only brought five. The Irishmen promised to be twenty-five, but were only eleven, the others standing off and not voting. I have a long letter from Cobden, angry about fortifications and Volunteers.’ This morning I received another letter from the Speaker, enclosing Cobden’s, which he has sent me to read. He says, ‘It is written in rather

a spirit of exaggeration, but it is the fault of Cobden's mind to see one object so strongly, that his view cannot embrace another at the same time.' Cobden's is well written, and contains much that is true, but he has evidently been so cajoled and flattered at Paris that he is now completely bamboozled, and so credulous that he takes for gospel all the Emperor says, and complains bitterly of 'all that is going on at home,' and especially of the tone of Palmerston's and Sidney Herbert's speeches. 'Believing,' he says, 'that the new French tariff will realise a complete revolution in the commercial relations of the two countries, and having taken pains to impress this opinion on the Government, I am amazed at the course they are taking. The language of Palmerston and Sidney Herbert, coupled with the fortification scheme (he says), cuts the ground, on which I urged the Emperor to enter on the Free Trade policy, from under my feet. Nine-tenths of his motives for making the plunge into that policy now were political rather than politico-economical ; he aimed at conciliating the English people, and I did not hesitate to assure him that if he entered without reserve on the Free-Trade path, it would be taken as a proof of his pacific intentions by the British public.'

*London, November 13th.*—At the end of three months since I last wrote anything in this book I take my pen in hand to record my determination to bring this journal (which is no journal at all) to an end. I have long seen that it is useless to attempt to carry it on, for I am entirely out of the way of hearing anything of the slightest interest beyond what is known to all the world. I therefore close this record without any intention or expectation of renewing it, with a full consciousness of the smallness of its value or interest, and with great regret that I did not make better use of the opportunities I have had of recording something more worth reading.

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